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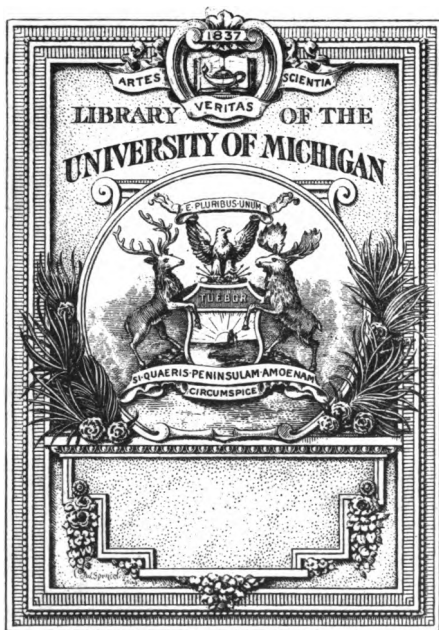
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ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE
HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH HISTORY VOL. I.



PAGE 87

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE & CO EDINBURGH:
AND HURST, CHANCE & CO LONDON.
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ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE
HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN:
AN HISTORICAL VIEW

OF THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, DRESSES, LITERATURE,
ARTS, COMMERCE, AND GOVERNMENT
OF GREAT BRITAIN ;

FROM THE TIME OF THE SAXONS, DOWN TO THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY.

BY RICHARD THOMSON,
AUTHOR OF " CHRONICLES OF LONDON BRIDGE, " &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE & CO. EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, CHANCE, & CO. LONDON.

1828.

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McCaw, Mrs.

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PREFACE.

ALMOST the only novelty or merit to which the ensuing pages can lay claim, is that of having brought their contents into the present convenience of form and simplicity of statement, to correspond with the variety of abridgments which already exist, of English History. The subject was first proposed in a conversation with the late lamented Projector of the present Series of volumes, who had some design of extending it hereafter to Scotland and Ireland; as in every different country, however nearly connected with others, there will be found a characteristic difference of manners and customs, religious ceremonies, and national pastimes.

In compiling the ensuing volumes, the Editor has done little more than bring together the excellent and approved re-

searches of Henry, Andrews, D'Israeli, Turner, Lingard, &c. and arranged them upon the simple and perspicuous plan exhibited in the annexed Table: but, perhaps, the commencing Introduction to the Materials of English History, is not without some novelty in a work of this nature; since the very learned, though brief, and often facetious notices in Bishop Nicolson's Historical Libraries, are, probably the only important collections of a similar kind. It contains, however, nothing that is new to the student; but the principal intention of it is to give some general information of the ancient and authentic sources whence the broad streams of British History are derived, and of the numerous additional illustrations which may be procured for studying it. Perhaps, too, even the following slight notices of the original authorities may excite a desire of farther acquaintance with them, or of referring to them, when modern works are either doubtful, imperfect, or silent. For the same reasons, this work will be found to contain throughout, numerous authorities and titles of the best books, which furnish additional references

and information; and if in any case the catalogue should appear repulsive, it must be remembered that it was admitted solely for its utility.

But though the ensuing Chapters claim to be nothing more than an abridgement of that which the most ingenious Authors have executed with so much talent and success, it certainly has not been performed without considerable labour and research. Of this, some proof may be found in the references which are made; and, had the extent of the Work permitted, the citation of every authority consulted would very considerably have increased it. This display, however, was not the view of the Editor; so long as his evidence established the truth of his information, he was desirous that the public should receive it in the plainest and most useful state in which it could be conveyed.

LONDON; *December* 1827.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

INTRODUCTION.

SOURCES AND MATERIALS OF BRITISH HISTORY.

THE principal events recorded in the Annals of England, and the eminent actions of its famous line of Sovereigns, have had a far greater and more extensive influence on the world, than ever was enjoyed by imperial power, even in the days of its mightiest dominion. For the most part, too, these circumstances have been faithfully and contemporaneously recorded, carefully preserved, and rendered familiar to the present age, in almost every variety of form, and under almost every feature of their character. At the same time, however, the ancient sources whence British History is derived, and the multitude of authentic materials by which it is most importantly illustrated, remain comparatively unexamined and unknown; and a modern compiler is frequently consulted, to vouch for a fact, even when an undoubted contemporary authority is in existence. Nor is this the only deficiency of ordinary historical study; since the interesting pictures which it presents, frequently require much additional informa-

tion for their perfect understanding and enjoyment, and a more intimate acquaintance with the manners, &c. of the various periods referred to, which are, in general, only slightly and incidentally noticed in modern publications of the History of England. Such students, then, as require exact information upon these subjects, must not limit their reading to the pages of the general historian; for, continues an intelligent antiquary who is perfectly well qualified to speak upon this point, characters are drawn by those who could not know the persons they describe; and therefore, to remove doubts, to verify facts, and to form a clear conception of particular events, the reader must search for subsidiary aid in the dispersed materials of national and political literature. Since then, as Dr Henry remarks, a modern author who compiles the history of ancient times, can have no personal knowledge of the events of which he writes; since the earlier chronicles and annals of England are not always familiar to general readers; and since the supplementary illustrations of British History are contained either in costly and extensive works, or in the scattered fragments of more recondite authorities, the present volumes have been compiled to furnish an easy and comprehensive view of them. The opening section is devoted to an account of the original authors and materials of English History, as an appropriate introduction to the following pages, which comprise a series of illustrations of the Religion and Laws, the Learning and Arts, and the Manners and Customs of Great Britain, through all their interesting changes and progressive improvements.

The authentic sources of British History may,

in general, be divided into three principal Classes; including Ancient and Contemporary Histories, Chronicles, and Memoirs of particular Individuals, National Records and Public Documents, and Miscellaneous Illustrations, embracing a great variety of subjects, interesting to almost every description of readers.

SECTION I. *Ancient and Contemporary Histories, Chronicles, and Memoirs.*

1. *British.* Previously to the invasion of Julius Cæsar, the annals of Britain are involved in doubt, or covered with obscurity; and Sir William Temple remarked, that he was acquainted with but few ancient authors on this division of history, who are worth the pains of perusing, or of separating the little gold from the quantity of refuse which they contain. But, not to notice the very limited extent of literature in so early an age and so rude an Island, the continual wars of the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, must have destroyed many original memorials, and long have prevented the writing of any others. To place, however, an account of the ancient reliques of British History more distinctly before the reader, it will be proper to give a short statement of the public events connected with them, illustrative of their particular language and ultimate depositories.

The Saxons, whom Vortigern had invited into Britain in A. D. 449, to aid him against the Scots and Picts, after having fought successfully for the Britons, were established in the Isle of Thanet, and soon began to extend their conquests over that land which they were engaged to defend.

Within the space of 150 years, they had become possessed of about one half of the southern division of Britain ; whilst the natives had gradually retreated before them, and with all the property they could preserve, sought an asylum in the hills and forests, and especially in the mountains, covering the Western parts of this Island. It is supposed that the Saxons called this district Gwalles, considering the Britons as Gauls ; their language being named Gwallish, whence are said to have been derived the modern words Wales and Welsh. The Britons themselves, however, are asserted to have called their country Cambria, to commemorate their own ancient name of Cymry, which the Welsh still retain. But beside these domestic colonists, others of the persecuted Britons entirely abandoned their native country ; and, under the conduct of their Chiefs and Prelates, crossed the sea, and took possession of the desolate lands on the western coast of Armorica ; and having subdued the neighbouring settlements, they called the district Bretagne, or Brittany, in memory of that country whence they had departed.

To these two asylums of their exiled nation, the ancient Britons removed all their national chronicles and records, which were written in a language held in great contempt and neglect by all the succeeding possessors of England. An acquaintance with the old British literature was thus confined to the Welsh counties ; but it was probably supposed that they contained many ancient documents concerning the history of this Island, of which a few brief notices are now to be given.

The Bards of Gaul and Britain were, for a considerable time, the principal historians of their

domestic annals ; and hence the writings of the latter contain particular accounts of their conflicts with the Saxons, and the genealogical succession of their Sovereigns up to the reign of Brute, 1136 years before the Christian era, and thence backward to the days of Adam. Some of the most eminent of these are those books of ancient Welsh histories, called the *Triades*, from their being written in stanzas of three lines each, containing a summary of three excellent or remarkable things ; a style of which the origin may probably be traced to about 700 years before the birth of Christ, as a corresponding passage occurs in the book of Proverbs, chap. xxx. verses 15-23. The collections of *Triades* are of different kinds, Theological, Philosophical, Poetical, &c. ; and the Historical contain many memorials of remarkable events in ancient Britain, though they are deficient in dates, and, considered separately, are not well adapted for preserving the connexion of History. They are not, however, to be viewed as the production of one individual or period, but as having been accumulated by national exertion as events took place ; so that while some are extremely ancient, others fall into the track of ordinary history, and others reach even so late as the 12th century.

Next to these poems, the books entitled the *Genealogies of the British Saints*, best illustrate the ancient Ecclesiastical History of this Island : and show that most of the Welsh Churches were founded by those Christians who lost their property under the growing power of the Saxons, about A. D. 584, or by their immediate descendants, who embraced a religious life in the solitary recesses of the mountains.

The most celebrated of the British Bardic Historians was called *Merlinus Ambrosius*, who lived about A. D. 480, and is said to have foretold the arrival and conquests of the Saxons. His prophetic odes have been frequently printed, and were translated into Latin prose by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and into English by Thomas Heywood. He is reported to have been the son of a nun called Matilda, daughter of Publicus, Lord of Mathtravel, by a supernatural being, and it is added, that he at length fell into a magic slumber in the Isle of Avallon, which probably gave rise to the story of another Merlin, surnamed Avallonius. A third of the name is called Wylt, or the savage, and Caledonius, from the country he resided in; he is said to have been taught by Taliesin, to have flourished in the 6th and 7th centuries, and also to have written prophetic verses. *Llywarch-Hen*, or Llywarch the aged, a Prince of Argoed in Cumberland, was another famous bard, who flourished from about A. D. 520 to 630. Many of his poems are yet extant, in which he celebrates his twenty-four sons all killed in battle against the Saxons, whose increasing power he steadily opposed; but at length he sought the protection of Cynddylan, a Prince of Powys, and is said to have died at the age of 150, in a solitary cell in the parish of Llanvor, near Bala in Merionethshire. Eight of the heroic elegies of this poet have been translated by Mr Rich. Thomas, A. B., and a literal version of several of his works was published by W. Owen, F. R. S. in 1792; to which may be added the interesting treatise of Mr Sharon Turner, on the *Genuineness of the Poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch-Hen and Merlin*, (Caledonius) with specimens. The

principal work of *Aneurin* is a poem called the *Gododin*, on the Battle of Cattraeth, in which he fought against the Saxons. He was a Northern British Chieftain in the 6th century ; and such was the slaughter of that battle, in which the Saxons conquered, that he was one of only three surviving leaders ; he was afterwards treacherously killed by one Eiddyn. *Taliesin* is commonly called the Chief of the Bards ; and his most important poems are those which celebrate the battles of the Saxons and Britains. He flourished from A. D. 520 to 570, and tradition calls him an orphan found by Elfin, son of Prince Gwyddno, at his wear, by whom he was brought up. He was educated in Glamorgan under Cadogan the Wise, and became Bard to Uriew, King of a little state called Regld, to whom he dedicated ten poems on his patriotic battles ; but he also composed elegies on other British warriors.

But the most eminent existing British Historian, properly so called, is *Gildas*, surnamed the Wise, who is said to have been born in Wales in 511. He was probably a Monk of Bangor, but he was certainly a celebrated and assiduous preacher of Christianity, after he returned to England from a residence abroad, though he at last retired to one of the islands called the Holmes in the British Channel. Being disturbed by pirates, he removed his monastery to Glastonbury, where he died about 571. There are said to have been three persons call Gildas, surnamed Albanus, Cambricus, and Badonicus ; and several books are attributed to him for which there is no authority. The only work which can with certainty be assigned to him, is an Epistle on the Destruction of

Britain, and a Reproof of the Ecclesiastical Order from the deploring style of which Gibbon has called him the British Jeremiah. It was written in Latin, and has several times been printed ; * but there are translations by Andrew Hart, Thomas Habington, and a third published in 1652, 12mo.

The famous *Chronicle of Brute* is always connected with the name of Jeffery ap Arthur, called from his birth-place *Geoffrey of Monmouth*. He flourished in the time of Henry I., and was educated in a Benedictine Monastery, being afterwards made Archdeacon of Monmouth, Bishop of St Asaph in 1152, and some add that he was created a Cardinal. The ancient history which he published is said to have been partly compiled from the *Deflorationes Historiæ Britannicæ*, written by Gurguntius, King of Britain, 300 years before Christ. The *Chronicle of Brute*, however, was discovered by Walter de Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, a learned man and diligent collector of literary fragments, who was travelling through France ; and in Armorica, or Bretagne, he procured an ancient chronicle, written in the British language, and called *Brut-y-Brenhined*, or the History of the Kings of Britain. Having brought it into England he communicated it to Geoffrey, who was not only well acquainted with the Armorican language, but was also an elegant writer of Latin, into which he translated it with purity and fidelity, though with some interpolations. This work was probably finished after the year 1128 ; and its simple subject, divested of its romantic additions, is a deduc-

* The best edition is to be found in Charles Bertram's *Britannicarum Gentium Historiæ Antiquæ Scriptores Tres*. Havn. 1757. 8vo.

tion of the Welsh Princes from the Trojan Brutus, to Cadwallader, who reigned in the seventh century. It also contains the interesting history of King Leir and his daughters. The Chronicle of Brute is divided into nine books, of which a most interesting summary will be found in the late Mr George Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, Vol. I. Sect. iii. It was originally contained in four books only, but on its subsequent division into a larger number, the translator added to them the Prophecies of Merlin, which he had also taken from British verse, and rendered into Latin prose. The authority of the Chronicle of Brute as an historical work, is greatly questioned by Camden, &c. though it is supported by Milton; and Brutus, King of Britain, is also mentioned by some ancient annalists who never could have seen the volumes of Geoffrey of Monmouth, as Henry of Huntingdon, and Sigbertus Gemblacensis, who was earlier than either. There are two Latin editions of this ancient work,* and it was translated into English by Aaron Thompson in 1718, 8vo; but a new and improved one is said to be preparing by Mr Morris of Penbryn, chiefly from an ancient manuscript of the original. There is also an Epitome of it in Latin, in six books, by Ponticus Virunnius, an Italian.

Another history of the British kings, in which Brute is a principal feature, and which has some-

* The best edition, both of the text and the Epitome of Virunnius, is that contained in Jerome Commeline's *Rerum Britannicarum, id est, Angliæ, Scotiæ, vicinarumque insularum ac regionum Scriptores vetustiores ac præcipui*. Lugd. 1587. Fol.

times been identified with Geoffrey of Monmouth's, was written by *Tyssilio*, a bishop, and son of Brockmael-Yscythroc, Prince of Powys. He flourished about the middle of the seventh century, and wrote an Ecclesiastical History of Britain, long since lost ; though his Brute has been printed in the *Welch Archaeology*, vol. ii., and has been translated by the Rev. Peter Roberts, under the title of *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain*, Lond. 1810, 8vo.

The notice of St Lucius, who is first mentioned by Bede, in the seventh century, of the Kings Alfred and Canute, and of the ceremonies of a tournament, in the Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth, have caused it to be considered as a production not earlier than the ninth century ; the materials of which are supposed to have been derived from the writings of *Nennius*, entitled the *Historia Britonum*. In this work is contained an account of the measure, situation, chief cities, and ancient inhabitants of Britain ; the invasion, reign, and departure of the Romans ; the introduction and incursions of the Saxons ; the death of Hengist, the battles of Arthur, and the Saxon usurpation down to A. D. 547, though it is sometimes found dated in the fifth year of Edmund I., A. D. 945. There is also appended to it an abridgement of the life of St Patrick, which is no part of the original work. The composition of this history is attributed to Nennius, to an anonymous Saxon author, to two persons named Gildas, and to Mark the Anchorite ; though the first is perhaps the most popular and generally received. His memoirs, however, are involved in obscurity ; since it is asserted that there were two of the name.

The first is mentinned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and he is said to have written a book of British history in his own language. He was Duke of Loegrin, son of Helius, and brother to Lud and Cassibelinus, Kings of Britain; and, having been killed in battle by the sword of Julius Cæsar, was buried at London with the weapon beside him. His book is said to have been subsequently translated into Latin, by a second Nennius; since it was a common practice with the transcribers of early British manuscripts, to affix to them their own names, and to make such alterations in them as would cause them to pass for their own. The latter Nennius is commonly reported to have been Abbot of Bangor, and to have flourished about A. D. 620; being one of the monks who retired to Chester, on the massacre of the brethren of the former Monastery: in which account, however, another difficulty arises, as some copies of his history are dated A. D. 858. The best Latin edition of it is that contained in Charles Bertram's *Scriptores*, already cited, and an excellent English one, from a MS. of Mark the Hermit, in the Vatican Library, has been published by the Rev. W. Gunn, Lond. 1819, 8vo.

The *Laws of the Ancient Britons* are in some measure preserved by those enacted by *Hoel Dha*, Prince of South Wales, about A. D. 940; when a council met at the White House on the river Taf, consisting of the Archbishop of St David's, 140 other prelates, all the nobility of Wales, and six of the wisest persons out of every Comote. This society fasted all Lent, and about Easter the King selected twelve of the gravest, and an eminent lawyer named Blegored, who revised the an-

cient laws of King Dunwallo, Molmutius, and Queen Marcia, dividing them into statutes of the council, of the country and community, and of special customs of persons and places. Of these, three copies were made for the Welsh Provinces; and having procured the Archbishop to guard against their infringement by a sentence of excommunication, the King carried them to Rome, where Stephen IX. gave them his sanction and confirmation. Several manuscript copies of these laws, both in Welsh and Latin, are yet extant at Oxford, in the Harleian Library, and in Wales; the ecclesiastical have been printed by Sir Henry Spelman, and they may also be found in Rice Vaughan's *Practica Walliæ*, Lond. 1672, 8vo.

One of the latest authors who has written the history of the British Sovereigns who were driven into Wales by the Saxons, was *Caradocus*, a monk of Llancarvan. This chronicle commences with Cadwallader, and concludes with the year 1176; after which, the succession and acts of the British Kings were recorded and preserved till 1276, in the Abbies of Conway in North Wales, and Stratflur in South Wales, where the Princes were usually buried. This is stated by Guttyn Owen, a celebrated Welsh bard and antiquary, who wrote the most perfect copy in the time of Edward IV.; but several MSS. of the same history extend to a much earlier period; particularly one in old English by a priest named Lazimon, who was born at Ernler, on the Severn, which goes back to Brute, whence it has been considered the same with the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. There are several copies of the history of Caradocus in manuscript, and English translations have been printed

by Dr Powell, in 1584, 4to, and W. Wyn, 1697, 8vo.

The preceding being the principal and most popular British Historians, instead of mentioning any of the more uncertain authors, or the romances relating to King Arthur and his Knights, it will probably be most useful to conclude them by the following lists of books illustrative of this division of History, in addition to those already cited. An account and specimens of the Triades and Genealogies of the Saints, will be found in Edw. Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, Oxf. 1707, fol. p. 250; in *Poems, Lyric and Pastoral*, by Edw. Williams, Lond. 1794, 12mo. vol. ii.; in Edw. Davies' *Celtic Researches*, Lond. 1804, 8vo.; and in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales, a Collection of Historical Documents from ancient MSS.* vol. ii. Lond. 1801, 8vo. Concerning the Bards, some interesting information may be derived from the *Dissertatio de Bardis, or some specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards, translated into English, with explanatory notes on the historical passages*, 1764, 8vo.; and from the *Cambrian Biography* of the Rev. W. Owen, F. R. S. Lond. 1803, 8vo. The succession of British Sovereigns will be found treated of in Percy Enderbie's *Cambria Triumphans, or Britain in its perfect lustre*, Lond. 1661, folio; and in a *Sketch of the early History of the Cymry, or ancient Britons, from the year 700 before Christ, to A. D. 500*, Lond. 1803, 8vo.

2. *Greek and Roman.* The notices of Britain which have been furnished by these authors, are rather incidental than direct; and Bishop Nicolson

remarks, that the few particulars contained in Cæsar, were gathered from report rather than observation, whilst the more authentic information of even later writers should be received with considerable caution. Some of the earliest accounts of Britain, however, were furnished by the literary accomplishments of a Roman General, in the celebrated *Commentaries of Julius Cæsar*. They refer to so ancient a period as the year 55 Before Christ, when he landed in this island on the 26th of August; though a very limited portion of them relates to a description of England. Including the account of his invasion, it extends only from Book iv. chap. 8, to chap. 8. book v. But several circumstances illustrative of British History are to be found in his notices of Gaul. There are several translations of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, of which the best is that by Professor Duncan; but the parts relating to Britain were translated, and separately published, so early as 1530, in a black-letter volume of 19 leaves, small folio.

Of other Roman authorities which have furnished historians with information concerning Britain, the following are the principal. *Diodorus Siculus*, so named from having been born at Argyra in Sicily, flourished about 44 years Before Christ, and compiled a History of several nations, the 5th Book and 3d chapter of which contain several curious and interesting particulars of Britain, its inhabitants, laws, manners, commerce in tin, and discovery by Julius Cæsar; as well as many illustrations concerning the Gauls and their Druids, who came originally from this country. The works of this author occupied him thirty years, and were written in Greek, in 40 Books, of which only 15

remain, with some fragments. The whole have been translated into English by G. Booth, Lond. 1700, fol.

The only work of *Strabo* now extant, his *Geography*, contains, in the 4th Book, a short account of Gaul and the British Islands, at a very early period of history, since he died A. D. 25. He was a native of Amasia, on the borders of Cappadocia, but he travelled over great part of the world, to inform himself of the place and inhabitants of which he intended to write. His work is composed in Greek, and consists of 17 Books, not entirely perfect, and his Commentaries are lost.

Some ancient particulars of Britain have also been preserved by *Pomponius Mela*, a Spaniard, who flourished about A. D. 45 ; whose three books, *Concerning the Situation of the World*, are written in Latin, with great elegance, perspicuity, and truth. See Book iii. chap. vi.

The writings of *Caius Cornelius Tacitus*, have a much more intimate connection with English History, since his exact and faithful work in Latin, *On the Manners of the Germans*, contains many particulars illustrative of the Celtic customs of Britain ; and his *Life of Agricola*, his father-in-law,—who was Governor of this country, and first discovered it to be an island by sailing round it,—preserves many circumstances of its history in the first century, together with the invasion of *Caledonia*. This eminent Latin historian was most probably born about A. D. 56, his father being a Roman Knight, and Governor of a province in Belgic Gaul. He was educated for the bar, and was patronised by the Emperors *Vespasian*, *Titus*,

and even Domitian; arriving at length to the dignity of Prætor, and Member of the Quindecimviral College, about A. D. 79. The works of this author are said to have once amounted to 30 books; though of his History there remain only 5, and of his Annals but 16; all of which have frequently been translated into English, but the best version is that by Arthur Murphy, in 4 volumes 4to.

M. Annæus Lucanus, a famous Poet of Corduba in Spain, the 3d book of whose *Pharsalia* contains several particulars illustrative of the Druids in Gaul, who were supposed to have come originally from Britain. He died A. D. 65, and his poem has often been translated into English verse, but the most popular rendering is that by Nicholas Rowe.

Claudius Ptolemæus, a Geographer and Astronomer of Alexandria, supposed to be the first who mentions the British Islands. He was born about A. D. 70, and the description of Britain contained in his Geography, Book ii. chap. 3, was composed soon after the Romans had subdued the South parts of the Island, while they yet retained their original names. Beside many mistakes, however, as to the situations of particular places, he alters the true positions of England in its length; makes the length of Scotland from East to West, and raises South Britain too far towards the north. His account of these Islands is little more than a series of Tables, with names and bearings of places, from which several maps have been drawn; and a revised one, with a Translation of his description, and a Commentary, will be found in J. Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, Lond. 1732, fol., and Dr Robert Henry's *History of Great Britain*, Vol. i.

Appendix, Lond. 1771, 4to. The same works also contain several of those other maps, surveys, &c. of Roman Britain, whence much of its ancient description and history are derived. The principal of these is that curious route of travel through England, usually called the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, it having been formerly attributed to the Emperor Titus Antoninus, during his extension of the Roman provinces in Britain, though it was more probably compiled by order of some of the Antonine Princes. Its age cannot be perfectly ascertained, though it is of undoubted antiquity: It consists of a series of routes through Britain, with the distance from each place in Roman miles. Another work of the same character, is called the *Notitia Imperii*, which also consists of a survey of Roman Britain, whose date and author are both unknown. It was, however, compiled before the Romans left this island, in A. D. 426, though probably but a short time, since the title states that it was subsequent to the times of Arcadius and Honorius, who reigned together, the last dying in A. D. 425.

The *Natural History of Caius Plinius Secundus* the Elder, has, in Book iv. chap. 16. a short description of England and Ireland; and various illustrative notices concerning Britain are to be found scattered through that vast collection of singular information. The author was one of the most learned of the ancient Roman writers, which he attained by almost incredible study; and he was born at Verona about A. D. 23. He was educated for the bar, but he was equally eminent as a soldier and a statesman; and as a scholar his works amounted to 160 volumes of remarks on

the authors he had read ; though his *Natural History*, in 37 books, is all which is remaining. It has been translated into English by Dr Philemon Holland, 1601, folio. The author perished in that eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which overthrew Herculaneum, A. D. 79.

Some geographical particulars of Roman Britain are also derived from *C. Julius Solinus*, a grammarian, sometimes called "Pliny's Ape," from his imitative style. This author is said by some to have flourished at the end of the first century, and by others in the middle of the third ; his work is called *Polyhistor*, and is a collection of historical remarks and geographical annotations concerning almost every country known in his time. It has been translated into English by Arthur Golding, 1590, 4to.

The actions and sway of the Romans in Britain are also recorded by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus*, in his famous *Lives of the Twelve Cæsars*, which are almost all that remain of his historical works. He was born about A. D. 70, was educated for the bar, and through the friendship of the younger Pliny was made a Tribune ; afterwards becoming Secretary to the Emperor Adrian, though he was dismissed for not paying court to Sabina the Empress. His work has been several times translated into English, but the best version is that by Dr Alexander Thomson.

Polyænus, a native of Macedonia in the second century, wrote eight books on the *Stratagems of Illustrious Generals* ; in the last of which he refers the success of Cæsar in Britain, to the terror caused by the sight of an elephant covered with scales of polished steel, and carrying on his back

a turret filled with armed men. The *Stratagemata* of this author were translated into English by Mr R. Shepherd, 1793, 4to.

The extensive, though mutilated history of *Dion Cassius*, contains many circumstances connected with the Roman invasion and rule in Britain. He flourished about A. D. 230, and the collection and compilation of his work occupied him 22 years; he having been exhorted to the performance of it by a vision from Heaven. It is written in Greek, commences with the building of Rome, and comes down to the time of Alexander Severus; but though it originally contained 80 books, the first 34 and part of the 35th are lost, the next 20 remain, and of the last 20 there are only fragments. Of these, however, there is an epitome by Hyphilinus, a monk of Trebizond in the eleventh century, which has been translated into English by Francis Manning, 1704, 8vo.

Herodian's History of his own Times, is another Greek classic illustrative of the affairs of Britain under the Emperor Severus; see Book iii. which also contains a few short notices descriptive of this island and its inhabitants, though they are illustrated by additional remarks in the translation of J. Hart, 1749, 8vo. The author was a native of Alexandria, and flourished A. D. 247: his style of writing is peculiarly elegant, though he appears to have been imperfectly acquainted with geography, and not sufficiently accurate in chronology and dates.

Several historical particulars of Britain and the Roman province and government therein, are furnished in the *Lives* written by those Authors who flourished about the end of the third, or beginning

of the fourth century, and compose the *Historia Augustæ Scriptores*, or writers of the Augustan History. Of these, *Spartianus Ælius* wrote the Memoirs of the Roman Emperors, from Julius Cæsar to Dioclesian; but only 6 of his books remain, and he is not in great estimation either as a geographer or an historian. The writings of *Julius Capitolinus* contain an account of the life of Antoninus Pius, who greatly extended the Roman province in Britain, and of other personages, but most of his works are lost. *Flavius Vopiscus*, was a native of Syracuse, A. D. 303, also a writer of biography, being generally considered as superior to most of this class. *Ælius Lampridius* lived likewise in the fourth century, and there exist of his writings the Lives of 4 Roman Emperors; but his style is inelegant and his arrangement injudicious. *Ammianus Marcellinus* was a Greek, and soldier in Gaul and Germany under Constantine and Julian; which circumstances account for the rough language of his Continuation of the Roman History of Suetonius. He composed this work A. D. 374, and it originally consisted of 31 books, of which the first 13 are lost. It has been translated into English by Dr Philemon Holland, Lond. 1609, folio. It commenced with A. D. 354, and came down to A. D. 378. The author is supposed to have died A. D. 390."

Contemporary with these authors was *Flavius Eutropius*, also a Greek and soldier under Julian, who wrote an Epitome of the History of Rome, from Romulus down to the time of Valens, A. D. 364, divided into 10 books, which is composed without elegance, though with conciseness and precision. He was Secretary to the Emperor Con-

stantine the Great, and afterwards served under Julian in his expedition against the Parthians in A. D. 363. The best English translations of this author are by John Stirling and Mr Thomas, 1760, 8vo. These authors form the contemporary historians of Roman Britain.

3. *Saxon*.—The character which Sir William Temple has given of these historians, is scarcely more favourable than that which he furnishes of the British, whom he treats as absolutely contemptible. The account of the wars, &c. of the Saxon Kings, he observes, is given in a very inferior manner, “with little order or agreement of times or actions, by the few and mean authors of those barbarous and illiterate ages; and, perhaps, the rough course of those lawless times and actions would have been too ignoble a subject for a good historian.” Bishop Nicolson, however, who was infinitely better qualified to judge of this particular, refutes the charge, and affirms that the times were neither so lawless nor the authors so contemptible as they are thus represented; and whilst he admits that many of the records of this period are lost, he adds, that there are still many more reliques of it remaining, than any of the neighbouring nations can pretend either to show or to boast of. The literary character of this time, will, however, be considered hereafter, the present pages being devoted only to an account of its historical remains.

The most ancient and eminent of these works is usually called the *Saxon Chronicle*, of which several authentic MSS. are extant, and which was first printed in 1643, by Professor Wheelocke, in

his edition of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. In 1692 a Latin translation of it was published by Bishop Gibson, but the best and most elegant edition of it is that with the interesting Introduction, the Original Text, and an English version, by Professor Ingram, 1823, 4to. There was also an English translation of it by Miss Gurney, published in 1819, 12mo. It contains a short description of Britain, and an account of the most important transactions of its inhabitants, from the first arrival of the Saxons, down to A. D. 1154; though the register commences in a manner not unusual with such annals, with memoranda of great events and periods from A. D. 1. The names of its authors can be little more than conjectured; but it is supposed by Professor Ingram, that the Kent and Wessex Chronicles might have been commenced under the direction of Archbishops of the Canterbury, or, perhaps under the superintendence of Archbishop Plegmund, until his decease in 923. He also seems to consider it not impossible, that King Alfred himself might have written the genealogy of the West Saxon Kings, and a separate Chronicle of Wessex. From their time, he considers, until a few years subsequent to the Norman Invasion, the Saxon Annals were carried on by various hands, under the patronage of such persons as the Archbishops Dunstan, Ælfric, &c., down to the election of William de Waltham to be Abbot of Peterborough in A. D. 1154. The events recorded in this Chronicle are written in the Saxon language, in prose, under the several years when they took place, but it also contains several fragments of historical songs, and two entire poems,

on the Death of Edgar and the Victory of Ethelstan.

The first authentic historian of the English Church, and, indeed, the most learned Ecclesiastic of this period, is *Bede*, surnamed the Venerable. He was born about A. D. 672, within the territory of the Monastery of St Peter and Paul at Janow; and, having been educated at that house, under Abbot Benedict, was ordained Deacon at 19, and Priest at 30, by St John of Beverley. His principal employment was writting Commentaries on the Scripture, and distinct tracts on almost every branch of learning, from his attainments in which, Pope Sergius I. invited him to Rome; though he would never quit his monastery. His most valuable work, however, is a Latin *History of the English Church*, in five books, from the time of Julius Cæsar to A. D. 731; with a Continuation of the Arts of the English before the Saxon invasion, by an anonymous author. An epitome of this work, down to A. D. 766, is said to have been made by Richard Lavington, a Carmelite monk of Bristol, and a great writer of divinity, about the end of the fourteenth century. Few works have either so long supported their credit, or have been so universally known and consulted; and it may be considered as an entirely novel subject in England, since the Civil Histories which existed before it, contained but few particulars on Ecclesiastical affairs. It was therefore principally compiled from the information of his contemporaries, and the records of religious houses; which may probably account for its favouring the Saxons against the Britons, and its too great credulity as to legends and miracles. The best Latin edition

of this work is that by Dr Smith in 1722, folio; from which a very useful English translation was published in 1723, 8vo. The writings of this author raised him to such eminence that he was consulted by the most eminent churchmen of his time, particularly by the learned Egbert, Bishop of York, to whom he wrote an Epistle, the last and best of his works, which illustrates the state of the Church in his time, and represents several evils in it, of which he foresaw the increase, and which were afterwards removed by the Reformation. He laboured, both in his monastery and at his books, during his long and painful decline under an asthma, which he bore with great patience; and he died at the moment he concluded his translation of St John's Gospel, May 26th, A. D. 735.

For a contemporary account of the reign of King Ælfred, posterity is most indebted to *Asser*, a monk of St David's, whence he is called *Asserius Menevensis*, from Menevia, the Latin name of that place. He was the intimate friend, tutor, and chaplain of the Monarch, who gave him several Ecclesiastical preferments, and at length made him Bishop of Exeter and Sherborne. He is asserted to have persuaded Ælfred to found the University of Oxford, and to have been himself a reader there in the public schools; but this has been disputed, as well as his title to a book of the Annals of Britain in Latin, which was printed by Dr Gale, in vol. iii. of his *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Oxford, 1691, fol. *Asser's Affairs and Acts of Ælfred*, extends to the 45th year of his age, A. D. 893; the continuation being by authors of a later time. His modesty is very appa-

rent through the whole work, especially his account of being summoned to Court; and he is closely followed by Florence of Worcester, when treating of the same period. The most popular Latin edition of this life is that printed by Camden, in his *Anglica, Normannicarum, Hibernica, Cambrica, a Scriptoribus, a veteribus Scripta*, Francf. 1603, fol. Of this there is no translation; but the disputed passage in it on the antiquity of Oxford University, excited Sir John Spelman to vindicate Cambridge, by writing a new Life of Ælfred from materials in its archives. This was published in Latin in 1678, fol.; but the English copy was printed by T. Hearne in 1709, 8vo. King Ælfred's Will, in Saxon and English, was also printed at Oxford in 1817, 4to. Asser died about A. D. 910.

Ethelwerd, or Edward Patricius, a Saxon of Royal descent, is the next Historian extant, whose Latin work of *Chronicles* has been printed by Sir Henry Savil in his collection, commonly called the *Scriptores post Bedam*, Frankf. 1601, fol. Ethelwerd's work consists of four books; the first being from the Creation to A. D. 592; the second, from the coming of St Augustine to A. D. 787; the third, from the time of Byrhtic, King of the West-Saxons, to about A. D. 860; and the fourth, from the reign of the issue of Æthelwolf to the time of Edgar, in the latter part of the tenth century; though the author lived till the year 1090. The whole is extremely brief in its narrative, inferior in its style, and is asserted to be a translation of some corrupt copy of the Saxon Chronicle. Many particulars relating to the civil government

of this period are dispersed through separate memoirs of the Saxon Saints and Sovereigns. Of the latter of these, the *Life of King Offa* was written by Matthew Paris, who lived in the reign of Henry III. ; that of *Æthelwulf* by Wolstan, a Monk of Winchester ; that of *Edward the Confessor* by Ealred, Abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire, in the reign of Stephen, which is printed by Sir Roger Twysden, in his *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem.* Lond. 1652, folio ; and the *Encomium of Emma*, Queen of Richard I., of which the most interesting edition is that by Baron Maseres, with English Notes, Lond. 1783, 4to. Of modern authors who have illustrated the Saxon Laws and History, the most eminent are Richard Verstegan in his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, Lond. 1673, 8vo. ; John Selden in several of his learned writings ; the *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ*, of Dr Wilkins, Lond. 1721, folio ; and, above all, to the general reader, Mr Sharon Turner's delightful *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Lond. 1823, 3 vols. 8vo.

4. *Northern Historians.*—The Acts of the Danes in Britain, are not formed into separate volumes, but are usually to be found blended with the annals of their own country ; the records of which, in those ages which more immediately concern this nation, are tolerably perfect ; excepting only, that the chronology is sometimes rather obscure ; a fault, however, which is common to all the ancient histories of the world. That singular mythological collection called the Edda, of which an account is given in the next chapter, is principally illustrative of the religious customs and doctrines of the Danes. It was composed chiefly by

Scæmund Stigfusson, who in travelling nine years through Italy, Germany, and England, collected many historical circumstances; and, retiring to Iceland, wrote some account of the affairs of his own country, about A. D. 1114. Contemporary with Scæmund, was *Aras*, surnamed *Frode*, or the Wise, who wrote a regular history of Iceland, including an account of the affairs of Norway, Denmark, and England; which was published by the Bishop of Scalholt in 1689. There are also extant two authentic Norwegian Historians, containing several particulars concerning the Danish Kings in Britain, which are either wholly omitted, or very obscurely related by the Annalists of England. Their works were both compiled from traditions and the ancient songs of Iceland, which are supposed to have been true relations of real events, and sometimes to be their only depositories. The first of these authors is *Theodoric*, a Monk, whose work was written soon after A. D. 1130, and published at Amsterdam, 1684, 8vo. The other work is a Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings, by the famous *Snorro Sturleson*, an Icelandic Historian and Statesman, who died in A. D. 1241. The best edition is that of Stockholm, 1697, folio, 2 volumes. To these authors should be added the celebrated Danish Historian, *Saxo*, surnamed *Grammaticus*, from his extensive erudition, who died in A. D. 1208, aged upwards of 70. His Latin History of Denmark, was also formed out of tales, songs, and traditions, and from the last two books have been derived all the materials of succeeding authors. Snorro's history contains 16 books, which, commencing at the earliest period, extend to A. D. 1156; its style is extremely ele-

gant and poetical perhaps too much so for a history; and the best edition of it is that by Stephanus, 1644, folio. Several English Antiquities of this period are also illustrated by some of the Latin works of *Olaus Wormius*, a Danish Physician who died A. D. 1654, aged 66; and the doctrines of the Ancient Danes as exciting their contempt of Death, are interestingly considered by *Thomas Bartholine*, a celebrated Danish Lawyer, who died in 1690. The ancient authors of this nation, however, are comprised in M. J. Langebeck's *Collection of Writers of Danish Affairs in the Middle Ages*, Copenhagen, 1772-92, 5 vols. folio, and in addition to the foregoing, the following modern works only require to be included in the list. *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ*, by J. Johnstone, Hafn. 1786, 4to: *Fragments of English and Irish History in the 9th and 10th Centuries translated from the Icelandic* by G. J. Thorkelin, 1789, 4to, and M. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, translated by Bishop Percy, Lond. 1770. 2 vols. 8vo.

5. *English Historians after the Norman Invasion*.—Sir William Temple, who is seldom inclined to be favourable towards the Ancient Historians of England, observes of those of the present period, that the portraiture of affairs has neither been delineated by any one skilful hand, nor from the life, yet it is represented in so clear a light as leaves very little either obscure or uncertain in the history of this kingdom, or the succession of its kings. After the accession of William I., however, the contemporary histories, annals, and biographies, become more copious and interesting; but as the authors of these works also became very

numerous, the reader can be presented only with a brief account of those which have been published, and are principally consulted, arranged in the several centuries to which they belong.

Eleventh Century.—INGULPHUS Abbot of Croyland in Lincolnshire, wrote a history of his Abbey from its foundation in A. D. 664 to A. D. 1091 in which he occasionally gives some particulars of the English Sovereigns. He was born in London, A. D. 1030, and about the age of 21, was Secretary to William I., in Normandy; which probably prejudiced him in his account of Harold. The best edition of his *Historia Anglorum*, with the continuation of Peter Blesensis, is that of Oxford, 1684, though it is also printed in *Savile's Scriptores* already cited. His Latin style is rather inferior; he died in A. D. 1109.

Marianus Scotus, a Monk of Mentz in Germany, brought down the English history, with a general one of Europe, to A. D. 1083; and it met with such universal applause, in monasteries, that scarcely one was without a copy, but frequent transcription produced many mistakes and interpolations, which caused several of its real excellences to be afterwards regarded as spurious. The German part of this history was published by John Pistorius, in 1607, but he omitted all relating to England.

Under this century may also be included the fragment of an anonymous memoir of William I., published in Camden's *Anglica*, already cited: and those contemporary particulars of that Monarch, written by *William of Poictou*, his soldier, priest, and chaplain; and afterwards Archdeacon of Lisieux. He wrote from his own immediate know-

ledge, ending his history in A. D. 1070. Some account of this King was also written by *Gulielmus Gemeticensis*, or William of Jumieges, who dedicated his work to him; and it will be found printed in A. Duchesne's *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*; Paris, 1619, folio. Of modern lives of this Sovereign, are those by the Rev. Samuel Clarke, Lond. 1671, 4to, and by Alex. Henderson, Lond. 1764, 12mo. There appear to have been no separate contemporary memoirs preserved of William II.

Twelfth Century.—FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, a Monk of that place, surnamed Bavonius, compiled, in 1101, a general history, entitled *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, being taken from Marianus, the Saxon Chronicle, &c. It extends from Adam to A. D. 1118, and is executed with great care and judgment. Another Monk of the same place continued it to A. D. 1141; and the best printed edition is that of Lond. 1592, small quarto. He died in 1119.

Eadmer, surnamed the Chanter, was a Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, who wrote the *Historia Novorum* in six books, containing memorials from William I. to Henry I. This work is highly commended for authenticity, regularity of composition, and purity of style; and the best edition of it is that prepared by Selden during his imprisonment, Lond. 1623, folio. The author was an intimate companion of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and some time Abbot of St Albans. He died in 1124.

Alfred of Beverley, being a Monk and Treasurer of that House, appears chiefly to have epitomised the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth; but

he is also said to have compiled a history ending about 1121, the 21st year of Henry I., wherein are several circumstances not extant in the former.

The famous *William of Malmesbury*, Monk and Librarian of that Abbey, in Wiltshire, has been celebrated as an elegant, learned, and faithful historian; the only man of his time, who has honestly discharged the trust of such a writer; and the chief of all our annalists. He was born in Somersetshire, whence he is called *Somersetanus*, and his book, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, is printed in Savile's *Scriptores* already cited. It is dedicated to Robert, Duke of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I.; and contains 5 books, extending from the coming in of the Saxons, to A. D. 1126. There is also attached an Appendix of 2 books, called *Historia Novella*, continuing the narrative to the escape of the Empress Maud from Oxford in 1143, when he died. These books contain a judicious collection of all he had found on record concerning England; and have lately been made familiar to the English reader, by the Rev. John Sharpe's translation, Lond. 1817, 4to. William of Malmesbury also wrote a Church-History of England, in 4 books, which is likewise printed in Savile's Collection.

Simeon of Durham, where he was a Monk and Precentor, may be considered one of the most learned men of his age; though his 2 books, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, are not his best works, being principally some unarranged collections out of Florence of Worcester. He took great pains, however, in collecting monuments, especially in the north of England, after they had been scattered

by the devastations of the Danes, whence he composed part of his history. His memorials extend from A. D. 616 to 1130, soon after which he probably died, though the work was continued by John, Prior of Hexham, to 1156. The best edition of Simeon's history is in Twysden's *Scriptores* already referred to.

Ealred, or *Ailredus*, Abbot of Rievaulxin, composed a short genealogy of the English Kings, with some other historical pieces, in which he particularly praises David, King of Scotland, who founded many Cistercian Abbies. He was born in 1109, and died in 1166. His Genealogies include the Saxon Kings and William I.; and with his Life of Edward the Confessor, and his Account of the War between the King of Scotland and the English Barons in 1138, are printed in Sir Roger Twysden's *Scriptores*.

Henry of Huntington, being Archdeacon of that Diocese, is, however, a more familiar and popular historian, though he has been accused of writing confusedly, and of having done little more than copy the Saxon Chronicle, Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Florence of Worcester. He was, nevertheless, a learned man in his time, and is said to have composed his History at the request of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, retiring to Rome for that purpose, and remaining there several years. It contains 8 books, and extends from the earliest accounts of Britain, down to the time of Stephen; after which there is a continuation to 1164. All the monastic historians, excepting this author, characterize King Edwy as an abandoned profligate, arising out of their prejudice for Dunstan; but Henry of Huntington affirms that the English

flourished under his government, and that his death was much lamented. His Histories are printed in Sir H. Savile's *Scriptores*; and a Letter of his to Walter, Abbot of Ramsay, on contempt of the world, has also been published, which contains many curious particulars of Kings, &c., his contemporaries.

William de Newbridge, or *Newburgh*, so called from his abbey in Yorkshire, was born in 1136; and it is said that his real name was Petit, Parvus, or Little. He is supposed to have lived to 1220, though his *Historia Regum Angliæ* terminates in 1197. His Latin style is considered pure, and even preferable to that of Matthew Paris; but he evinces a violent prejudice against Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Princes of Wales, having been disappointed of the Bishopric of St Asaph. The best edition of his work was published by Thomas Hearne, with a Preface and Notes, Oxford, 1719, 3 vols. 8vo.

With respect to the Sovereigns of this century, some notices of *Henry I.* are quoted in Camden's Remains, edit. Lond. 1614, page 260, from the work of *Walter de Mapes*, *De Nugis Curialium*; the author of which was a poet, Archdeacon of Oxford, and Chaplain to Henry II. The memoirs of *Stephen* were collected by *Richard*, prior of *Hexham*, and are printed in Twysden's *Scriptores*; and in Andrew Du Chesne's *Historia Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, Paris, 1619, folio, is an anonymous life of this sovereign, by some person who appears to have lived in the latter end of this reign, or the commencement of the following. The extended contest of *Henry II.* with

Archbishop Becket caused many authors to appear on both sides of the question, who represented it according to their respective parties; most of which, however, remain in MS., such as Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, William Fitz-Stephen, Richard of Hexham, John of Oxford, Bishop of Norwich, and Giraldus Cambrensis. There is, however, a book *De Vitâ et Gestis Henrici II. et Ricardi I.*, written by *Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough*, who flourished in the twelfth century, and died in 1193. It was printed by Hearne in 1735, at Oxford, in 2 vols. 8vo, who also published *John Berebloy's Historia Vitæ et regni Ricardi I.*; but a more popular work for the modern reader, is *The History of the Life of King Henry II., and of the age in which he lived*, by George Lord Lyttleton, London, 1764-67, 4to. 4 vols. the attacks of which are answered by the Rev. John Berington, in his *History of the reign of Henry II., Richard and John*, Birmingham, 1790, 4to. It is also interesting to remark, that the Wills of the Sovereigns of England, from Henry II. to Henry VIII., have been printed in English, in a very curious work by Mr Nicholas Harris Nicolas, entitled *Testamenta Vetus*, being illustrations from wills of ancient manners, customs, &c. Lond. 1825, 2 vols. 8vo. The earlier testaments will be found in *A Collection of Royal Wills, from William I. to Henry VII.* by the late T. Nichols, Lond. 1780, 4to. The story of the *Crusades*, under *Richard I.*, is largely treated of by *Richard of the Devizes*, in Wiltshire, a Monk of Winchester, and supposed to have been an Augustine Canon of the Trinity in London, one of his retinue. Josephus Iscanius,

or *Joseph of Exeter*, also followed him to Palestine, and celebrated his acts in a fine heroic Latin poem called *Antiocheis*, which is greatly beyond the productions of this age, a fragment of which is printed in Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Lond. 1824, vol. i. pages clxii. clxv. Some account of the expedition is also given by Gregory Alpharagius, in his *Excerptum de rebus gestis Richardi Angliæ Regis in Palestina*, published at Oxford in 1780, octavo. One of the largest journals of this Sovereign, however, is that made by *Geoffrey de Vinesauf*, or *Vino Salvo*, published in Dr Gale's *Historiæ Britannicæ et Anglicanæ Scriptores*, xx. Oxf. 1687-91, 2 vols. folio. He is supposed to have been the same with *Walter Constantiensis*, Bishop of Lincoln. Of more modern works on this period of History, may be mentioned an anonymous *Life of Richard I.* in English verse, printed at London in 1528, 4to.; the *History of the Crusades*, by *Louis Maimburg*, translated by *J. Nelson*, Lond. 1685, 4to.; and that by the late *Mr Charles Mills*, Lond. 1820, 2 vols. 8vo.

Thirteenth Century.—The first author of this period, was *Gervase of Dover*, or of *Canterbury*, being a monk of Christ-Church in that city, admitted and ordained by Archbishop Becket. His principal works are a *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of England*, from 1122 to 1200, though his collections are thought to have originally extended to the times of the Britons; a *History of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, from *St Augustine* to *Hubert Walter*, who died in 1205; and an account of the disputes between Archbishop Baldwin and the Monks of Canterbury. All these are printed

in Twysden's *Scriptores*; a strict attention to chronology is one of the chief excellencies of this historian.

Roger de Hoveden, was a lawyer, and Professor of Theology at Oxford, and was most probably born at the town of that name in Yorkshire, though it is only known of him that he lived beyond the year 1204. He is said to have been chaplain to Henry II., and to have been employed by him in visiting monasteries. After the King's death, he composed his Latin *Annales*, beginning at 731, where Bede left off, and continuing them to 1202. His work contains many letters and speeches relating to church affairs, and good materials for an ecclesiastical history of England; but he has been censured for copying Simeon of Durham, and suppressing his name, though it is allowed that he has improved his story. Leland praises him for diligence, veracity, and knowledge of antiquity; but complains of his Latin style. In 1291, Edward I. is said to have made a diligent search for Hoveden's History, to decide the dispute about the homage of the Scottish crown, which it is said effectually to have cleared. His annals were printed by Sir Henry Savile, in his *Scriptores post Bedam*. About this period *John Oxfordius*, Bishop of Norwich, is reported to have compiled an English Chronicle, which has been praised for its authenticity and ancient information. He was employed on an embassy to Rome, to represent Becket's conduct to the Pontiff; and it is said that he wrote a Journal of his mission.

Ralph de Diceto, a Monk of Thetford in Norfolk, and Dean of St Paul's London, wrote about 1210; and sometimes refers to a Chronology of

the British Kings, of his own composing, which is printed in Dr Gale's *Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores* xv. vol. i. Oxf. 1691, folio; under the title of *Historia Compendiosa de Regibus Britonum*. It commences with Brute, and comes down to the death of Cadwallader, A. D. 689; and is succeeded by the ancient division of the British Provinces into Shires, Bishoprics and Kingdoms: the whole work is supposed to have been transcribed from the labours of another author called Brome. The most important works of Diceto, however, are those printed in Twysden's *Scriptores* entitled *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, and his *Ymagines Historiarum*; the first of which contains an abstract of British History, from A. D. 589 to A. D. 1146, in the reign of Stephen, chiefly concerning ecclesiastical matters: the latter work is seemingly a continuation, as it begins in 1148, and terminates early in the reign of King John, but it contains an account of the English Sovereigns more at length. This historian is much praised by Selden, though his works are little more than copies; but some manuscripts of his abbreviations have been extremely corrupted by the Monks of Canterbury.

Gervase of Tilbury, a native of that place in Essex, was nephew to Henry II., and wrote a Commentary on Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History, and a Tripartite History of England. He also compiled a Chronicle of all the Kings of Europe, entitled *Otia Imperialia*, printed in 1678; and the famous Latin *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, is attributed to him; though Madox, who edited

it, assigns it to Richard Nelson, Bishop of London.

The Chronicles of *John Wallingford*, also printed in Dr Gale's *Scriptores* xv. vol. i. page 525, relate only to the period of the Saxons, and extend from their arrival in A. D. 449, to the death of Hardicanute in 1036. Dr Gale supposes that the author of this work was an abbot of St Alban's, who died in 1214; though he observes, that a manuscript under his name was extant in the Cottonian Library, which contained an earlier portion of the history and a continuation to 1258, which he attributes to Roger de Wendover. It is, however, more probable that the compiler was a monk of St Alban's, who entered there in 1231.

Walter of Coventry has been praised as possessing the two principal ornaments of an historian, fidelity and clearness; but his three books of Chronicles consist chiefly of collections out of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Roger de Hoveden, and Henry of Huntingdon, though he relates some important circumstances which are not to be met with in those authors. He is said to have lived in Coventry in 1217. Of this same date, also, were *Alexander Essebiensis*, who wrote an Epitome of the English Annals; and the Histories of *Peter Hehnam* and *Ralph Niger*. The latter of these was continued to 1200 by *Ralph*, Abbot of *Coggeshale*, a learned Cistercian, who was wounded at the siege of Jerusalem by Saladin, 1187. He is supposed to have died in 1228; and his works, consisting of a Chronicle of the Holy Land, a Chronicle of England from 1066 to 1200, and a book on the movements of the English under King John, are printed in vol. v. of Edmund

Martene's *Amplissima collectio veterum Scriptorum et monumentorum*, &c. 1724, folio.

Matthew Paris, one of the most famous of these historians, was entered a Benedictine Monk of the Congregation of Clugny, in the Monastery of St Alban's in 1217, and died there in 1259. He was an universal scholar, and a man of distinguished probity; and his famous work contains the Lives of eight English Sovereigns, written in Latin, entitled *Historia Major Angliæ*. The Greater History from William the Conqueror to the last year of Henry III. It has several times been printed, and first appeared at London in 1571; but the best edition is that of Paris, 1641, 2 vols. folio, by Dr Wats, which contains the author's extensive additions: as his Lives of the two Offas, Kings of Mercia, and of 23 Abbots of St Albans; with an abridgement of his principal work which he called *Chronica*, and Lambard, entitled *Historia Minor*, wherein are several particulars of note omitted in his larger history. This edition also contains a good glossary of barbarous Latin words, and the various readings of all the manuscript copies that could be procured: which was done to confute the Romanists, who pretended that the heretics had greatly corrupted this historian. From the time of the death of Matthew Paris, the work was continued by *William Rishanger*, also a Monk of St Alban's, to the death of Henry III., 1272. It is, however, sometimes asserted that Matthew only began at 1235, and continued the labours of Roger de Windlesore or Windsor, or *Roger de Wendover*, Prior of Beauvoir, one of his predecessors at St Alban's. It is certain that

the author did commence his work at the creation, although all before the Norman invasion is now lost ; unless, as it has been suggested, Matthew of Westminster's work is the genuine book.

Matthew Paris was employed in reforming and visiting monasteries, and establishing monastic discipline. He reprov'd vice without distinction of persons, not omitting even the Pope or the English Sovereign ; though his works evince a genuine love for his country, in maintaining its privileges against the Pontiff's usurpations. He was historiographer to Henry III., and is said to have enjoyed an annual pension for the office, which his continuator, Rishanger, enjoyed after him, dying very old in 1312.

It is supposed that the metrical *chronicles* of *Robert of Gloucester* and *Peter Langtoft*, or *Robert de Brunne*, also belong to this period of history. The first is generally thought, from his surname, to have been a monk of Gloucester Abbey, sent to reside at Oxford to superintend the youth there, belonging to that church. His real name is not known, but he is supposed to have flourished and died about 1280, the beginning of the reign of Edward I. The chronicle which is called by his name, was first transcribed and published by Thomas Hearne in 1724, Oxf. 2 vols. 8vo, of which there appeared a reprint in 1810. It is written in rude, but often powerful Iambic verses, in old Saxon English ; and commencing with a long description of Britain. He sets down the six ages of the world already past, and declares that this island was first inhabited in the third age, " in the time between

Abraham and Moses." The poem then passes to the siege of Troy, and the author introduces the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth, in rhyme, continuing the history of England down to the time of Edward I. The chronicle of *Robert de Brunne* embraces the period between the death of Cadwallader and the end of the reign of Edward I. May 1339; and it was also first transcribed and published by Hearne in 1725, Oxf. 2 vols. 8vo., of which there was likewise a reprint in 1810. Robert de Brunne, or Robert Mannyng, is the first English poet of the fourteenth century, and was born at Malton, probably before 1270, since he was received into the order of Black Canons, at Brunne, in 1288. He appears to have been chiefly a translator; for the chronicle connected with his name, which he commenced versifying in 1303, was originally written by *Peter de Langtoft*, a Norman, named from Langtoft in Yorkshire, and an Augustine Canon of Bridlington, who is supposed to have died in the reign of Edward II. This, however, comprised only the second part of De Brunne's Chronicle; the first being translated from Robert Wace's *Brut d'Angleterre*, extending from the siege of Troy to the death of Cadwallader, which is not printed in Hearne's edition. De Brunne's versification throughout the work, is sometimes the entire Alexandrine, rhyming in couplets; though, for the most part, it is only the half Alexandrine rhyming in alternate verses, like a ballad metre. Of these interesting old English chronicles and poets, several additional particulars and specimens will be found in the prefaces, &c. attached to Hearne's editions of their works, in the late

Mr George Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, Lond. 1803, 8vo. vol. 1. pages 97, 105, 112, 123; Mr Campbell's *Specimens of the British Poets*, Lond. 1819, 8vo. vol. 1, pages 39-49; and in Warton's *History of English Poetry*, 8vo. edit. vol. i. pp. 52-60, 65-79.

The *Chronicle of Mailros*, though its title appears to transfer it to the Scottish history, chiefly treats of the affairs of England; and is supposed originally to have been compiled by the abbot or prior of Dundrennan in Galloway, being afterwards continued by several hands, down to 1270. It contains little relating to the northern history of this kingdom, before 1142, when the Abbey of Dundrennan was founded, excepting what has been borrowed from Florence of Worcester and Matthew of Westminster; and from the year 1262, is continued in a very dull manner, though it contains a remarkable character of Simon Montfort, Earl of Leicester.

There are also some inferior historians of this century, whose works chiefly remain in manuscript. These are, *Elias de Evesham* and *Elias de Trickingham*, who are both said to have flourished about 1270; and a copy of the Chronicle compiled by the latter, terminates in 1268. *Peter Jekeham* was a native of Kent, and sometime a student of the University of Paris, who, about 1264, collected the British and English histories, from the coming in of Brute, and continued them to the reign of Edward I. *John of Bury*, or *Buriensis*, was abbot of St Edmondsbury, where he died in 1280, having written the English Annals, wherein he treats at large of the disputes between Innocent IV. and Robert Grossete, Bishop of Lin-

celn; though it is supposed that he might be the same person as John, Abbot of Peterborough, or that the Chronicle compiled by *John de Taxton*, or Taxtor, also a Monk of Bury, ending at the reign of Edward III., is the same as that attributed to John de Bury. For it may be remarked, as the reader may already have noticed, that the historical authors of ancient times being generally members of conventual fraternities, when they became celebrated were designated by their Christian names, joined to those of the religious houses to which they belonged, as William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, &c. in which case it was extremely probable for two persons to bear the same name of John of Bury. In like manner too, those Chronicles and Annals which were common to almost all monastic institutions, and were continued by the several registrars of the times, were known under the name of that house in which they were compiled; as the Annals of Margans or Waverley, the Chronicle of Mailros, or the Textus Roffensis. They generally commenced with a very brief summary, of a few principal events, from the creation of the world, or the Christian era; and then passed to the foundation of their own order, house, or bishopric. Their subsequent contents consisted of short notices of remarkable public events, seasons, or persons; blended with particular and authentic entries of all the affairs more immediately relating to themselves. "Whence it is," says Bishop Nicolson, "that the histories of those Cathedrals, which were anciently in possession of the Monks, are the most entire of any in the kingdom." They have always been allowed as good evidence in judicial courts, and have frequently decided the des-

cents of noble families ; the owners and features of estates ; the ancient customs of counties, cities, and great towns ; or the foundation and endowments of churches, &c. It must, however, be allowed, that the private zeal or interest of the writers, may frequently have transported them to have recorded something more than the truth, especially in ecclesiastical affairs, miracles, &c. ; though the grants of their founders and benefactors were certainly most faithfully registered, since, in such cases, any interpolation would be hazardous, and destroy an old title without creating a new one. The similarity of these Annals may be accounted for, by supposing, that when the Monks copied out a Chronicle for use, or continuation in their own houses, they sometimes abridged or amplified the original, when they possessed additional information ; and it was also frequently the custom, for the copyist to insert his own name, as the author of the whole. The reliques of these registers, which are even yet existing, are extremely numerous in manuscript, and several of the thirteenth and following centuries have been printed ; of which latter it will probably be sufficient to give some account in this place ; premising, that although they are professedly limited in subject to the affairs of a particular religious establishment, the events of the general history of the nation are continually recorded and illustrated by their pages.

The *History of Ely*, published by Dr Gale, in vol. 1. of his *Scriptores*, pages 468, 489, relate principally to the foundation of the church. The first book was written by St Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and treats of the possessions, &c. of the abbey, to about the death of Edgar, 975. The

second book consisted of a continuation down to the Norman period, with a supplement of privileges belonging to the Church of Ely, and was compiled by *Thomas*, a Monk of the Abbey, who wrote other books, and lived after the year 1166.

The *Annals of Ramsay* were compiled by the Benedictine Monks of the Abbey of that name, in Huntingdonshire, and were printed in Dr Gale's *Scriptores*, vol. 1, page 385. They refer principally to the foundation and benefactors of the Monastery, though they also contain several historical notices, between 968 and the Norman invasion; with a fourth book extending to the time of the writer, which, Sir Henry Spelman supposed, was written about the time of Henry I. Dr Gale characterizes them as being written with a purity of diction and concise style, which make them inferior to none of the English writers. *Peter Bleaensis*, or Peter of Blois, was not inferior either in rank or in learning to Ingulphus, whose work he continued. He was Archdeacon of Bath, and afterwards of London, and Vice-Chancellor to the King; and he carried on the history of Croyland to the time of Abbot Waldevas, about the beginning of the reign of Stephen, 1118. He wrote this continuation after the year 1290; and it will be found printed in vol. 1. of Dr Gale's *Scriptores*, 1684, page 108; the author died about the year 1200. In the same collection, also, vol. 1, page 549, is another continuation of the Croyland history, by anonymous authors, which begins in the reign of Stephen, about 1149, and extends, though with several blanks, down to 1486, in the reign of Henry VII.

The *Annals of Margan*, so called from having been compiled in that monastery of Cistercians in Glamorganshire, were printed by Dr Gale in his *Scriptores* XX. vol. ii. page 1. They extend from 1066 to 1232, and contain a general chronological account of the principal ecclesiastical and military events which took place within that interval; though they but little illustrate the history of Margan Abbey itself.

The *Annals of Burton* Abbey, in Staffordshire, extend from the year 1004 to 1263, and contain a better collection of letters, memorials, &c. of the church history of those times, than probably can be found in any other place. They also embrace many other circumstances of English history; several of which were derived from Roger de Hoveden, whom the writer calls Hugh, and some from Matthew Paris, with whom he was certainly a contemporary. It was published in Gale's *Rerum Anglicarum* 1684, page 245.

The Chronicle, entitled the *Annals of Waverley*, also belongs to this period, since it extends to 1291, commencing with notices of some transactions in the time of William I. It is printed in Dr Gale's *Scriptores* V. vol. ii. page 129; and the editor supposed, that it was compiled by the monks of the Cistercian Abbey of Waverley, in Surrey, being probably begun by one who was of Saxon origin, since the Chronicler states, that he lived in the time of William I.; uses many of the Saxon letters, which about that period began to be discontinued; and particularly laments the fate of Edgar Atheling. The diction of the work is low, but the writer's simplicity seems a security for its truth; and unpolished as it is, William of Malm-

bury, Robert Montensis, Henry of Huntingdon, and the two Rogers, of Wendover and Hoveden, were indebted to it for several circumstances.

In 1723, Joseph Sparke, the Registrar of Peterborough Cathedral, published two large and elegant folio volumes of monastic writings relating to that church, under the title of *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii*; which contained the following pieces:—1. A *Chronicle of England*, by John, Abbot of Peterborough, commencing with the foundation of the Abbey in 654, and finished by Robert de Boston, a monk of Spalding, at a great plague in London, &c. in 1368. 2. The *Life of St Thomas*, Archbishop of Canterbury, written by William Fitz-Stephen, John of Salisbury, and other contemporary authors. 3. *The History of the Monastery of Peterborough*, formerly called Medeshamstede, by various authors; namely, Hugo Candidus, from its foundation to 1177, Robert de Swapham, Walter de Whyttesey, and anonymous continuators, down to 1338.

The writings of Thomas Stubbs, a Dominican Friar, consist chiefly of a book on the acts of the archbishops of York, which is printed in Twysden's *Scriptores*. He appears to have been D. D. in 1373, at which time his memoirs terminate. He is deservedly applauded by several authors, though his praise had been greater, had he not been so great a plagiarist from Richard of Hexham.

The *Chronicle of William Thorne*, of the acts and affairs of the Abbots of St Augustine's, Canterbury, in which house he was a Monk in 1380, is printed in Twysden's *Scriptores*, with a chronology of the same monastery. The former com-

mences with the recall of St Gregory, from his journey to Britain in 578, and ends in 1397, in the reign of Richard II. It contains numerous interesting particulars relating to English history, beside copious information concerning St Augustine's monastery, &c. with copies of the evidences, charters, estate-rolls, &c. belonging to it. The Chronology is a series of tables of Pontiffs, Kings, Archbishops, grants, and other matters for the use of the Monastery, which comes down to 1419. The whole is closed by the deed of surrender of this house to Henry VIII. in 1539.

The first who attempted to write the life of King John, is supposed to have been his chaplain, *John de Fordeham*, or *Forda*, who certainly had the best opportunities of knowing the truth, if he had equal honesty in revealing it. Of modern writings connected with this monarch, the principal are, *William Prynne's History of King John, Henry III., and Edward I., collected out of ancient records in the Tower; and vindicating the sovereignty of the English King against papal innovations.* Lond., 1670, folio; *Dr Samuel Pegge's Inquiry into the nature and cause of King John's death, showing that was not effected by poison,* *Archæologia*, vol. iv. page 29; and *Valentine Green's Account of the discovery of King John's body in Worcester Cathedral, 17th July 1797;* Lond. 1797, 4to. The history, &c. of *Magna Charta*, has been best illustrated by *Sir William Blackstone*, in his copies and account of the Charters; Oxf. 1759, 4to. The extended and unquiet reign of *Henry III.*, appears to have been generally neglected; though, of modern works, the following may be referred to. *Sir Robert Cotton's Short View of the long Life and*

Reign of Henry III., written in 1614, and presented to James I. Lond. 1627, 4to, several times printed; Dr Edward Chamberlayn's *Brief Relation of the Five Years' Civil War of King Henry III.*, 1647; and George Ferrars's translation of the Laws made under Henry III. and Edward I. The achievements of *Edward I.* in Scotland, and especially the siege of Stirling, were recorded in heroic Latin verse, by *Robert Baston*, a native of Yorkshire, and Prior of the Carmelite Monastery at Scarborough; Poet-laureate, and Public Orator at Oxford. He attended the King for the purpose of describing his exploits, and his verse is creditable for his time. Being taken prisoner, however, by the Scots, he was compelled to write a panegyric on Robert Bruce as his ransom, which has been published by Hearne, in his edition of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*; Oxford, 1722. He died about 1310. *William de Rishanger*, already mentioned, was Historiographer to Edward I., and composed a particular treatise of the *Annals of Edward I.*; which is supposed to include three Latin tracts, also attributed to him, "concerning King John Baliol;" "on the election of the Scottish King;" and "on the right of the English King to Scotland. *Peter de Langtoft*, already noticed, in his epitome of the *English Chronicles* in old French verse, assigns one whole chapter to the reign of Edward I.

Fourteenth Century.—As the *Chronicle of Thomas Wikes*, Vicanus, or Wicelus, ends in 1304, at the death of Edward I., he may be considered as the earliest historian in this century. It is printed in Dr Gale's *Scriptores*, V. (xv.) vol.

ii. p. 21, and begins at the Norman Invasion; some passages, relating to the Baronial Wars, being written with all the clearness and fulness which so compendious a history would admit of. The author was a Canon-Regular of Osney, near Oxford.

Of this period, also, is to be considered *John Castorius*, called likewise Fiber and Bever, who was a Monk of Westminster, and wrote a Chronicle of some authenticity, beginning with the coming in of Brute, and terminating with his own time.

Another concise Chronicle was compiled by *Thomas Haslewood*, a Canon-Regular of Leeds in Kent; which some have fixed at 1321, though, from an account of the victories of Edward the Black Prince, it is clear that he must have lived late in the reign of Edward III., if not in that of Richard II.

A better and more copious history, however, are the *Annales Regum Angliæ*, from 1136 to 1307, of *Nicholas Trivet*, Prior of a Dominican Monastery in London, and son of Sir Thomas Trivet, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He was educated at Oxford, and died in 1328; his work, with its continuation, was published by Anthony Hall in 1719, in 2 vols. 8vo. Of this time, also, is the Chronicle attributed to *John of London*.

The principal value of the Chronicle of *John Brompton*, is the information it contains relative to the Saxon times, though it is deficient in chronology when treating of the Heptarchy. It gives the Saxon laws at length, with a faithful Latin translation; and the whole history extends from the arrival of Augustine, A. D. 588, to the death

of Richard I., 1198. Its principal authority is Roger Hoveden; it will be found printed in Twysden's *Scriptores*. The person to whom it is attributed was Abbot of Toreval, or Jorvaulx in Yorkshire; but as it takes no notice of the founding of that Cistercian Abbey, it was probably only procured by Brompton, and by him given to his monastery. This historian has borrowed freely from Roger de Hoveden; and, whoever he were, he lived after the beginning of the reign of Edward III., as appears by his digressive relation of the contract between Joan, the King's sister, and David, afterwards King of Scots.

Walter de Hemmingford was a Canon-Regular of Gisborough Abbey in Yorkshire, who flourished in the reign of Edward III., and who compiled a History of England from the Norman Invasion to 1308, which was published in Dr Gale's *Scriptores*, XV., vol. ii. p. 455, and by Thomas Hearne in 1731, 8vo. 2 vols., now one of the rarest of his works. The author died in 1347.

Richard of Cirencester, so called from the place of his birth, was a Benedictine Monk of St Peter's, Westminster, where he appears to have been from 1350 to 1393, devoting himself to the study of British and Anglo-Saxon Antiquities. He travelled to most of the libraries of England to complete his collections, and compiled thence a History of this nation, from the time of Hengist to 1348; a History of the Britons, English, and Saxons; and a book on the Situation of Britain. The first of these is printed in the *Scriptores* of C. Bertram, already cited, by whom the last was discovered at Copenhagen, and sent to Dr Stakeley, who published an analysis of it in 1757. The

original was printed by Professor Bertram, with Gildas and Nennius, in the same year; and in 1809 a new edition was published in London, edited by Mr Hatchard, with a map and an English translation. He also wrote some Theological pieces; but Dr Whitaker speaks slightly of his historical books, which remain in MS. at Cambridge. He is supposed to have visited Rome between 1391 and 1397, and to have died in the Infirmary of his Abbey about 1401.

Ralph, or *Ranulph Higden*, was a Benedictine of the Monastery of St Werburg in Chester, where he died at an advanced age in 1360. The work attributed to him is entitled *Polychronicon*, and is divided into seven books; the first containing a description of all countries in general, but more particularly of Britain; and the remainder a concise civil history, from the creation to his own time in the reign of Edward III. The initial letters to the early chapters of this work, form the words, "*Præsentem Chronicam compilavit frater Renulphus, Monachus Cestrensis*:" The present Chronicle was compiled by brother Ralph, a Monk of Chester. Bishop Nicolson, however, accuses him of having taken the whole work of *Roger*, another Monk of *Chester*, contemporary with Nicholas Trivet, which was called *Polyoratica Temporum*; whilst in the inscription which assumes it to himself, he selected only the characters which were most for his purpose, and, enlarging them, omitted all the rest. The book of *Roger* commences with the coming in of the Romans, continued to the year 1314; to which he afterwards added a supplement of fifteen years more. The British and Saxon part of Higden's *Polychronicon*,

was published by Dr Gale in his *Scriptores XV.* vol. i. p. 179; and the remainder was translated into English by John de Trevisa, a Cornish divine. It was first printed by Caxton in 1482, again by Wynkyn de Worde in 1495, and lastly by Peter Treveris in 1527, all in folio. There are many insertions and additions in the English translation which some attribute to Trevisa, as well as the continuation to 1460; though others assert them to have been made by Caxton, when they must have been written nearly a century after the translator's death.

John, Vicar of *Tynemouth*, whence he is always called *Tinmuthensis*, though he was afterwards a Monk of *St Alban's*, was a great collector of English histories, which he compiled in three large volumes, called *Historia Aurea*, for which he has been surnamed *Chrysistoriographus*. His narrative, however, is chiefly ecclesiastical, and relates to the actions and miracles of the English Saints.

Matthew, surnamed of *Westminster*, from his being a Benedictine Monk in that abbey, is said to have flourished in 1377, though some assert that he did not outlive 1307. He is sometimes called *Florilegus*, from the title of his book, *Florae Historiarum*, the *Flowers of Histories*, or a collection of the principal affairs of Britain, from the beginning of the world to the year 1307, of which work the best edition is that of Frankfort, 1601, folio. It is divided into six ages, comprised in three books; viz. from the creation to the Christian era, from the birth of Christ to the Norman invasion of England, thence to the commencement of the reign of Edward II., and sub-

sequently seventy years more were added, which brought it down to the death of Edward III. in 1377. It has sometimes been censured, but it has also been praised as being written with a scrupulous regard to truth, and with a diligence which has omitted nothing worthy of memory.

Bishop Nicolson remarks concerning the continuation of Matthew of Westminster's *Flowers of Histories*, that there are many anonymous historians in this kingdom, who, beginning at the year 1301, manifestly show that they intended to continue the work of this author. The most eminent of these was *Adam Merimuth*, a Canon-Regular of St Paul's, and an eminent civilian, who, in the close of his life, gave himself entirely up to the reading and writing of English history. He commences his work about 1300, his first part extending to 1343; whilst the second carries it on to 1380, which was probably the year of his own death. It is remarkable that, as he begins the book at Michaelmas, he always commences the year at the same season.

The remaining historians of this century are of inferior merit; yet some of them have been printed, and are frequently referred to. *John Staffort* is supposed to have been a Franciscan Friar, the time of whose existence is very doubtful, though he is said to have written an English history about 1380. He must, however, have flourished after 1226, when his Order first came into England; and must be placed before 1480, since he is quoted by John Rous. *William de Packington*, Secretary and Treasurer to Edward the Black Prince in Gaseoigne, wrote a Chronicle in French from 1207-8, the 9th of King John, down to his own

time, out of which Leland, Stow, &c. have made several collections. *Henry de Knighton* was one of the Canons of Leicester, and his book, *De Eventibus Angliæ*, which may begin at the Norman invasion, since he has only a short abstract of the Saxon affairs in his first book. He acknowledges all that he has transcribed from Ralph Higden; whom he also imitates, in making the initial letters of the first fifteen chapters of his second book, express the name of Henricus Cniton. *Walter Lingius*, was a Franciscan of Norwich, who, about 1390, is said to have compiled a history of this kingdom, from the coming in of Brutus, down to his own time. To these, also, may be added the MS. *Eulogium*, which commences at the same very ancient period, and terminates with the year 1367. It is probable that the commencement of this work is by Nennius; but the remainder is by a Monk of Canterbury, who calls St. Thomas Becket his patron.

Of the lives, &c. of Sovereigns who reigned in the fourteenth century, the principal are the following. For Edward II., his misfortunes were related without either flattery or contempt, by *Stephen Eiton* or *Eden*, a Canon-Regular of Warter, in Yorkshire, about the year 1320, whose work probably still remains in manuscript. The annals of the greatest and best part of his reign, namely, from 1307 to 1323, were compiled by *John de Trokelowe*, a monk, as the history of his treaty of peace with Robert, King of Scots, was by *Henry de Blaneford*; both of which pieces were published by Thomas Hearne, in octavo, Oxf. 1729. *Walter de Hemmingford*, who has been already mentioned, also wrote a Latin history of

the affairs and actions of Edward I. II. and III., which was likewise printed by Hearne in 2 vols. 8vo, Oxf. 1731. *Sir Thomas de la More's Life and Death of Edward II.*, is printed in Camden's Collection of Ancient Historians; and the author was made a knight by Edward I., was Councillor to his son, and lived in the commencement of the reign of Edward III. His memoirs were originally written in French, but were translated into Latin by Walter Baker, or Swinburn, Canon of Osney, near Oxford; and in effect rendered into English in Stow's Chronicles and Annals, and by other historians. Of later works, are Henry Carey, Viscount Falkland's *History of Edward II., with the rise and fall of his favourites, Gaveston and the Spencers*, Lond. 1680, fol. and 8vo. *Observations on the reigns of Edward I. II. III. and Richard II.*, by Sir George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, Lond. 1689, 8vo.; and Mad. de Tencin's *Anecdotes of Edward II.* The reign of *Edward III.*, though long and prosperous, had but few separate historians; but it is affirmed that Robert Bale, some time Recorder of London, wrote several of his acts and affairs; which were carefully kept in the Civic records, with other historical pieces by the same author. As the victorious achievements of *Edward the Black Prince* were all included in the reign of his father, they form a large portion of its story; and were collected in French by *William de Pachington*, already mentioned. About 1340 flourished *Robert de Avesbury*, Registrar of the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote a Latin *History of the Wonderful Acts of Edward III.*, which was published by Hearne in 1720,

8vo. Sir John Froissart is said, though probably without foundation, to have written a life of his patroness, Philippa of Hainault, Queen of Edward III. The best modern work on this reign, is the Rev. Joshua Barnes's erudite *History of Edward III. and Edward the Black Prince*, Camb. 1688, folio; to which may be added, A. Bicknell's *History of Edward the Black Prince, with a Short View of the reigns of Edward I. II. and III.* Lond. 1777, 8vo.; the Rev. John Bree's *Sketch of the Naval, Military, and Civil Establishment of this Kingdom in the 14th century, with an Account of the Campaign of Edward III. in France*, vol. i. Lond. 1791, 4to.; and in Mr Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, Lond. 4to., will be found characters of the Court of Edward III. For the reign of *Richard II.*, contemporary materials are equally wanting. *John Gower*, who died in 1402, is said to have compiled a Latin Chronicle of this Sovereign; *Richard Maidstone*, a learned Carmelite, wrote a Latin poem on the *Agreement between Richard II. and the Citizens of London*; in Twysden's *Scriptores*, column 2743, is an account of the King's Deposition, by Henry Knyghton, already mentioned; and Hearne published a *Latin History of the Life and Reign of Richard II.*, by a certain Monk of Evesham, Oxf. 1729, 8vo. Other treatises remain in manuscript; and of modern works, the principal are Sir Robert Howard's *History of the reigns of Edward and Richard II., compared with Edward I. and III.* Lond. 1690, 8vo.; and Sir John Francis Biendi's *History of the Civil Wars of York and Lancaster*, translated by Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth,

Lond. 1641, 2 vols. folio. The poet Gower is also said to have written the eulogium of *Henry IV.*; and Robert Mascall, Bishop of Hereford, who was employed in several embassies in this and the following reign, and died at Ludlow in 1714, to have compiled a volume of his Legations. The most eminent modern work relating to this Sovereign, is Sir John Hayward's *First Part of the Life and Reign of Henry IV.*, Lond. 1599, 4to.; though it reaches but little farther than the death of Richard II., but it is the most elaborate of the writings of this author, who was Historiographer to King James I.

Fifteenth Century.—Bishop Nicolson characterizes this period as one of the most rude and illiterate ages, and defective both in historians and persons eminent in other parts of learning. In arriving at the time of *Sir John Froissart*, however, the contemporary authors become more generally known, and biographical notices less required. Of this eminent person, therefore, it is sufficient to say, that he was born at Valenciennes, in 1337, was brought up in the Court of Edward III., was familiarly conversant in that of Richard II., and was sometime Canon and Treasurer of Chimay in Leige. Though he composed 30,000 verses, he is now known only as an historian; and his Chronicles, written in French, the court-language of his time, are divided into four books, extending from 1326 to 1400, whence it is supposed that he lived beyond that year. The narrative is chiefly (and perhaps none gives a better account of Edward III. and Richard II.) relating to England, though it also includes the affairs of France, Flanders, Spain, Scotland and Ireland: with many

circumstances respecting the Papal countries of Rome and Avignon, and collateral particulars of transactions in the rest of Europe, Turkey, and Africa. Froissart is in general reputed as a faithful and diligent narrator of what he saw and heard, though he is charged by the French with partiality, in making Edward III. and the Black Prince the heroes of his story. Several of the manuscripts and French editions of Froissart, are said to be corrupt in names and numbers, but that of Lyons, 1559, 4 vols. folio, is regarded as the best. This author was translated into English by Lord Berners, at the command of Henry VIII., in 1525, in 2 vols. folio; but the most faithful and excellent of all the printed copies of his Chronicle, is the translation by the late Colonel Johnes, Hafod, 1803, 5 vols. 4to. A Latin epitome of Froissart's Chronicle was executed by *John Sleidan*, an excellent German historian, who died in 1556, which was published separately in Archbishop Parker's *Rerum Britannicarum*, Lyons, 1587, folio, and of which there were several other editions, with a Latin abridgment of Philip De Comines by the same author. An English translation of Sleidan's epitome appeared in 1611, 4to.

Down to the middle of this century the historic writers are but of a very ordinary character, the principal of them being as follow. *Thomas de Otterburn* was a Franciscan Friar of some English monastery, and his history was published in Latin by Hearne in 1732-33, Oxf. 2 vols. 8vo, with that of John Whethamstede, under the title of *Two Ancient Writers of the Affairs of the English, from the Origin of the People of Britain, down to the time of Edward IV.* There appear

to have been two historians named *Thomas Radburn*, of whom one called Radburn senior, was Bishop of St David's, and Chancellor of Oxford, 1420. The other was a monk of Swithin's, Winchester, and wrote two books of General History, probably still in manuscript; one whereof is entitled *Breviarium Chronicorum*, which begins at Brute, and ends A. D. 1234, in which he chiefly copies Matthew Paris after the Norman Invasion, though he is very unhappy in his chronology. The other is a large collection called *Historia Major*, of particulars relating to the church of Winchester, made out of the common historians. *John Sherburn* was also a monk, who wrote a Latin *Chronicle of the Britons*, from the arrival of the Trojans to the reign of Henry VI.; and *John Hensfield* is said to have been a brother of Battle-Abbey, who compiled an abstract of the English Chronicles down to the same time. But one of the best historians of the fifteenth century, was *Thomas of Walsingham*, a Benedictine monk of St Albans, and probably the Royal Professor of History. He composed two works of considerable length, both of which were published by Archbishop Parker in 1574, Lond. fol. One of these is named *Historia Brevis*, and commences at 1273, where Matthew Paris concludes, and contains several circumstances not mentioned by any contemporary author. It finishes with the funeral of Henry V., and the appointment of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, as Regent. His other book is called *Ypodigma Neustrie*, or an Exhibition of Normandy; and beginning with the tenth century, when that Dutchy was first possessed by Rollo and his Danes, is brought down to the time of

Henry V. Both of these works were also printed in Camden's *Historia*.

About this period, too, *Nicholas Cantelupe*, a Welsh gentleman, and Prior of a Carmelite Monastery at Northampton, who died in 1441, and wrote a *History of Cambridge*, is said also to have written a general *Chronicle of England*. Contemporary with him was *John Whethamstede*, whose history has been already referred to. He was a learned Abbot of St Alban's, and after having been 82 years in Priests' Orders, died in 1464 at upwards of 100. His *Chronicle* begins in 1441, and ends in 1461; it contains many original papers and letters, with a full account of the battle of St Alban's; but the greater part of it is filled with the concerns of his own abbey. He was, however, the first historian who opposed the legend of Brutus.

John Harding, a northern annalist, was born in 1378, and brought up in the family of Sir Henry Percy, commonly called Hotspur, eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland. His life was active, and he bore arms against the Scots upon several occasions; but he was also employed in collecting documents, for ascertaining the fealty due from their King to the English; and hearing that there was in Scotland some ancient charters of homage which proved it, he is said to have gone thither in disguise and great hazard, to have brought them away, and to have delivered them at different times to Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward IV. He has, however, been accused of forging of deeds to effect his purpose, but the truth is not known. He also collected materials

for his *Chronicle*, which he appears to have first finished about 1436. He afterwards recomposed this work for Richard Duke of York, father of Edward IV., who was slain in the battle of Wakefield, December 31st 1460. The history comes no lower than the flight of Henry VI. in 1459, but some circumstances prove that it could not have been finished before 1465. His book is entitled *The Chronicle of England unto the reigne of King Edward IV.*; it is in metre, and is considered by Wharton as "almost beneath criticism, and fit only for the attention of the antiquary." It was first printed by Grafton in 1543, who probably added the prose continuation to 1542-43, the 34th year of Henry VIII.; this is considered the *rarest* and most expensive edition, but the *best* is that by Henry Ellis, Esq. Principal Librarian of the British Museum, Lond. 1812, 4to. Nearly contemporary with Harding were *Nicholas Montacute*, sometime Master of Eton College, and a collector of English history; and *Roger Albanus*, a Carmelite of London, who compiled the genealogies of some of the English sovereigns.

Beside the continuation of Higden's and Trevisa's Polychronicon, by *William Caxton*, already referred to, there is also popularly attributed to him another work, entitled *Chronicles of England*, printed in 1480, and thence called Caxton's Chronicle. It is a collection in which there is certainly as much fiction as truth; for its narratives have been questioned and censured, and it is particularly noted for its circumstantial account of the poisoning of King John. It is, however, erroneously assigned to Caxton, since it was founded upon a work by Douglas, a monk of Glastonbury, who

in the earlier parts followed Geoffrey of Monmouth and Nennius, whilst Caxton only continued it to the battle of Towton in Yorkshire, on Palm Sunday, March 29th 1461, which proved so fatal to the interests of Henry VI. This history commences with the finding of this realm by Albyne and her sisters, who named it Albion, it has furnished materials for several romances, and it was so popular that several manuscripts of it are still extant, and it was four times printed in the 15th century. One of these editions appears to have been prepared by a schoolmaster of St Alban's, where it was printed in 1483, whence it is called the *St Alban's Chronicle* and *Fructus Temporum*. It contains the text of Caxton, and has some additions of notices of Popes and Emperors. Of the reputed author of this work, it will be sufficient to remark, that he was born in the Weald of Kent, about 1412; was in the household of Margaret Dutchess of Burgundy, and sister of Edward IV.; commenced printing at Westminster about 1474, and died about 1492.

John Rosse or *Rous*, usually called the Antiquary of Warwick, where he was born, was educated at Oxford, and became Canon of Osney. He travelled over the greatest part of England; and having made large collections out of the libraries he visited, on the national history and antiquities, retired to Guy's Cliff, near Warwick, and died there in 1491. His *Latin History of the Kings of England*, was published by Hearne, in 1716, Oxf. 8vo.

The memoirs, &c. of the Sovereigns who reigned in the fifteenth century, are principally as follow:—An interesting account of the life of *Henry V.* was written by *Peter Basset*, his

chamberlain ; commencing with his earliest years, giving a full account of his expeditions, victories, and marriage in France ; his coronation at Paris ; and terminating with his death, and the coronation of Henry VI. He attended the King in all his campaigns, and flourished about 1430 ; but his acts of Henry V. have never been printed. In the manuscripts of the British Museum, there is also an interesting anonymous account of the battle of Agincourt, written in Latin, by a priest who attended the expedition, and sat with the baggage during the engagement, along with the other ecclesiastics. But all which can be collected on this interesting subject, both in print and manuscript, has been inserted and translated with extraordinary research and fidelity, into an elegant modern publication, entitled *The History of the Battle of Agincourt, and the Expedition of Henry V. into France, with a Roll of the Men-at-Arms in the English Army* ; by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq. Lond. 1827, 12mo. The exploits of Henry V. were also celebrated in verse by *John Lydgate*, an ancient English poet, and monk of Bury in Suffolk, who was born about 1375, and died about 1461 ; the greatest part of whose composition is printed in the work last cited. This Sovereign's life was likewise written in Latin verse by *Thomas*, a monk of *Elmham*, in Norfolk, and prior of the Holy Trinity of Lenton in Nottinghamshire, which was published by Hearne, in 1727, Oxf. 8vo ; as were also those Latin memoirs, compiled by another historian of this time, who called himself *Titus Livius*, Oxf. 1716, 8vo. There are also some other ancient memoirs extant in manuscript ; and

from the best of these sources was compiled Thomas Goodwin's *History of the Life and Reign of Henry V.* Lond. 1704, folio. There is also a very curious *Essay on the Character of Henry V. when Prince of Wales*, by Alexander Luders, Esq, Lond. 1813, 8vo. The pious actions and life of *Henry VI.* do not appear to have been sufficient to produce many contemporary historians; but *John Blackman*, a Carthusian, who was particularly intimate with him, wrote a volume of his life and miracles, which was published by Hearne with the works of Otterburn and Whethamstede, vol. i. page 285. *Thomas Walsingham*, also, who lived in his time, wrote some annals of his reign, out of which it is said that the acts of *Henry VI.* were composed. The disturbed reign of *Edward IV.* seems to have prevented any separate record of his memoirs; but of modern works the following may be referred to:—*The History of Edward IV.* by William Habington, Lond. 1640, folio; said to have been written and published by express desire of Charles I.; and a *History of the Civil Wars between York and Lancaster, comprehending the Lives of Edward IV. and Richard III.* by Edward Spelman and G. W. Lemon, Lynn, 1792, 8vo. *William Fleetwood*, Recorder of London, compiled a small Latin tract, entitled *Elenctius Annalium Regum Edward V. Richard III. Henry VII. and Henry VIII.* Lond. 1579, 12mo.; but it is almost exclusively confined to the transactions of the Courts at Westminster. The best account, therefore, of the brief reign and unhappy fate of *Edward V.* was written by Sir Thomas More, and called *A History of the pitiful Life*

and unfortunate Death of Edward V., and the Duke of York, his brother ; with the troublesome and tyrannical government of the usurpation of Richard III. and his miserable end, Lond. 1641, 4to ; but a more pleasing edition will be found in Mr Arthur Cayley's *Life of More*, Lond. 1808, 2 vols. 4to. This work has been cited and published as the chief authority in most later histories, without any other change than that of modernising the orthography ; but beside the account of *Richard III.*, which it contains, the same author is said to have treated it more copiously in Latin. Of this Sovereign, however, may be mentioned, Sir George Buck's *Life and reign of Richard III.*, Lond. 1647, folio. William Hutton's *Battle of Bosworth-Field, with an account of the Life of Richard III.*, edited by the late J. Nichols, Lond. 1814, 8vo ; and the Hon. Horace Walpole's *Historic Doubts on the Life and reign of Richard III., wherein is attempted to delineate his true character, and that of his rival Henry VII.* ; Lond. 1768, 4to. Of the latter monarch, his historian and poet-Laureat, B. Andreas of Tholouse, has written two volumes of his most eminent transactions, yet remaining in manuscript. Sir Thomas More, is said to have had some intention of writing his life, though it is not known whether he ever carried it into effect. Sir James Ware printed *Annales rerum Hibernicarum regnante Henrico VII.*, 1485-1509, Lond. 1558, 8vo. A political history of the King was published by Charles Aleyn, in 1638, 8vo. ; but by far the best work on the subject is Sir Francis Bacon's *History of the reigns of Henry VII., Henry VIII., and*

Queen Mary, Lond. 1676, folio; the modernised edition of the same, 1786, 8vo. To these volumes may also be added *James Marsolier's Life of Henry VII.* Paris, 1724, 2 vols. 12mo.; *the Will of Henry VII.*, published by Thomas Astle, Esq., Lond. 1775, 4to; John Trussels' *History of the Dissension between the Houses of York and Lancaster*, Lond. 1621, folio; and the more modern and interesting work of Miss Emma Roberts, *Memoirs of the Rival Houses of York and Lancaster, from the accession of Richard II. to the death of Henry VII.* Lond. 1827, 2 vols. 8vo.

Sixteenth Century.—Before entering on a brief enumeration of the Chronicles which distinguish this period of history, and which may be most properly comprised under one head, it should be remarked, that the most accomplished author of the age, for elegance and clearness of style, was *Polydore Vergil*. He was an Italian, sent to England by Alexander VI., to collect the tribute called Peter Pence; and was so well received, that he was promoted to several church preferments, and about 1521, was commanded by Henry VIII. to write a History of England, which he published and dedicated to him in 1534, the best edition being that of 1651, octavo. It is written in Latin, with great elegance and clearness, and contains 27 books, commencing with a description of Britain, and the ancient British Kings, and extending to 1535. This author, however, is charged with great partiality, and even falsehood in his work, and even with burning a vast quantity of the materials furnished him from the various national libraries, to prevent his misrepresentations from being discovered; whilst he is also said to have

sent a shipload of manuscripts to Rome. His greatest fault appears to be his giving a very unfair account of the Reformation, and the conduct of the Protestants; but his work was extensively read, and supplies a chasm of nearly seventy years in the English History, including particularly the reigns of Edward IV. and V., which are hardly to be found in Latin or in any other author. Polydore Vergil left England in 1550; and died in 1555.

The series of Chronicles which distinguished this age, was begun with a singular compilation by *Richard Arnold*, a London merchant, who traded to Flanders, and flourished in 1519. His work is sometimes called *Arnold's Chronicle*, and sometimes *The Customs of London*; though its real title is "The Names of the Bayliffs, Custos, Mayors and Sherefs of the Cyte of London," and was first printed without date at Antwerp, probably about 1502. It is a most singular compilation, of little historical merit, but it contains information on the city and national liberties and charters; the assise of bread; "the crafte to make a water to have spottys. oute of clothe;" "the vij aegesse of the worlde;" "the crafte of graffying and plantyng tryes;" "to make a pickell too kepe fresh sturgeon in;" and the ancient original of Prior's ballad of the "Nut-Brown Maid:" chiefly taken from similar works in the Cottonian Library. It is, however, an interesting collection of reliques of ancient civic manners and customs; and the best edition of it is the quarto reprint of 1811, published under the care of Francis Douce, Esq. Before the time of Fabyan, were compiled two Chronicles, arranged in his peculiar manner, in separate years, with the names of the Mayors

and Sheriffs of London, preserved in manuscript in the British Museum. Though principally devoted to the city, they contain much interesting information on national events, as may be seen in an edition of them by Mr Nicholas Harris Nicolas, with several interesting additional illustrations, entitled, *A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483, written in the fifteenth century, and for the first time printed from MSS. in the British Museum*, Lond. 1827, 4to.

At length appeared the celebrated work of Robert Fabyan, an eminent draper, Alderman and Sheriff of London in 1493, called *The Concordance of Histories*. Like the generality of ancient authors, he went beyond the age of certainty in his details. His book is divided into seven parts, having a poetical epilogue to each, under the title of the Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin. The first six conduct the history from Brutus to the Norman Invasion, and the seventh carries it down to the time of Henry VII.; but as it passed through four ancient editions between 1516 and 1559, each one was brought down to the time of its publication, and several alterations and omissions took place in the course of them. A particular account of these, with the best text of all, will be found in the reprint of it edited by Henry Ellis, Esq. in 1811, 4to.; but the first is the rarest, since it is erroneously considered to have been bought up and burned, by direction of Cardinal Wolsey, because the author made too clear a discovery of the revenues of the clergy. The cancelled part was possibly the abstract of the bill for taking away their temporal possessions; but it is

also probable, that the whole story is without foundation. The materials of this work are chiefly taken from Higden, whose method of making the year commence at Michaelmas, is adopted in the last part; but it also contains many important affairs concerning London, not elsewhere to be found, arranged under their respective years, with the names of the existing Mayors and Sheriffs. Fabyan died in 1512.

The extremely rare history by *John Rastell*, is properly entitled *The Pastyme of People, or the Chronycles of Dyuers Realmys, and most specyally of the Realme of Englonde, breuely compyled*: very few copies of it are known to be in existence, and Bishop Nicolson knew not where it was to be found. It was originally published about 1530, by John Rastell, a learned printer and citizen of London, who married the sister of Sir Thomas More, and died in 1536. It contains short notices of the Roman, Papal, Flemish, French, Norman, and British History; which latter commences at Brute, and extends to the death of Richard III. on Bosworth Field, Aug. 22, 1485: but it is principally remarkable for its large and spirited whole-length portraits of the English Sovereigns, engraven on wood, to which it is probable it is indebted for its extreme rarity. Fac-similes of these cuts will be found in the excellent modern edition of it published in 1811, 4to, under the care of the Rev. Dr. T. F. Dibdin, who states that its contents are abstracts from the Chronicles of Higden, Caxton, and Fabyan.

The Chronicle of *Edward Hall*, is entitled *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of York and Lancaster*; and was published

in 1548, folio. It originally extended only to 1532, a continuation to 1546 being left in manuscript; which falling into the possession of Richard Grafton, the printer, he completed and published it in 1550. Bishop Nicolson, without being very well acquainted with this work, censures it for flattering Henry VIII. in the dedication, and only giving an account of the dress and habits of each reign; but Hearne remarks that it is inscribed to Edward VI., and contains valuable information, excepting some points of the Chronology. The first is probably the finest impression, and contains a beautiful wood-cut of Henry VIII. in council, which is often missing: but a good edition of this Chronicle was printed in 1809, 4to.. The author was probably born about 1499, was educated at Eton and Cambridge, became an eminent civic lawyer and member of Parliament, and died in 1547..

George Lily, son of the famous grammarian, William Lily, and Canon of St Paul's, who died in 1559, is said to have been the first author of an exact map of Britain; and he also compiled a very short Latin abstract of English history, sometimes called *Anglorum Regum Chronices Epitome*. It was several times reprinted, and the edition of Francfort, 1565, 4to., commences at the Saxon Heptarchy, and extends to the accession of Elizabeth, in a brief enumeration of the English Sovereigns; being followed by an account of the civil wars of York and Lancaster.

The Rev. Dr Dibdin has also introduced to the public an extremely rare English chronicle, printed by *Giles Godet* in 1560, folio, of which there are only two copies known. It is entitled the *Genealogie of the Kinges of England*, and Earl Spencer's

impression described in the "*Ædes Akthorpiæ*," Lond. 1822, 8vo. Vol. I. pages 180-184; is described to have been originally in the form of a roll, upwards of 40 feet long, turned round in a box by a wire, that every part of it might be better seen. It commences with "Noe," having thirteen subjects before it arrives at Brute, and then descends through the Sovereigns of Britain to Elizabeth; each person being represented by a wood-cut, and from William I. by two stanzas of verse.

Richard Grafton, citizen of London, was one of the most eminent printers of his time; and though brought up a merchant, his literary works discover both abilities and a good education. In 1561 was printed his *Abridgement of the Chronicles*, three more editions appearing within the next ten years; but as Stow also published his "*Summarie of the Englysh Chronicles*," in 1565, Grafton in the same year, issued an abstract of his own abridgement, called a *Manuell of the Chronicles of England*. Stow followed this by his "*Summarie of Chronicles Abridged*," and their rivalry was also increased by severe reflections on each other in their prefaces. But though these summaries may be consulted by the historian, the greater works of Grafton and Stow are of course to be preferred. That of the former was first published in 1569, folio, under the title of a *Chronicle at large, and meere History of the affayres of England, and Kinges of the same, deduced from the creation of the world, unto the first habitation of this Islande, and the first year of Queen Elizabeth*. It consists of two volumes, the first being in seven parts, and containing the history from the

creation to the Saxons, and the latter from William I. to Elizabeth; both being decorated with some spirited wood-cuts. This work has not preserved its original reputation: the time of its author's death is not known, but he was living in 1572.

In 1569 was also published an *Epitome of Chronicles begun by Thomas Lanquet, from the beginning of the world to the incarnation of Christ, and continued to the reign of Edward VI. by Thomas Cooper*, 4to. There are several other editions of this work, which appears to have been compiled with little care or attention, and is but of slight authority. The original author died at London in 1545, and the continuator, by whose name it became subsequently known, died Bishop of Winchester in 1594; having written several volumes, of which the present is his worst.

The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland; by Raphael Holinshed and his assistants, are by far the most popular and important of the national histories during the reign of Elizabeth; to which all modern authors are extensively indebted. They were originally published in 1577, in 2 vols. folio, with many spirited wood-cuts; and afterwards in 1585-86, in three, the first two of which are commonly bound together. In this second edition the engravings were omitted, with, it is supposed, some particular passages; but the famous *Castrations of Holinshed* were several sheets from the second and third volumes, containing passages disagreeable to Elizabeth, Lord Leicester, and the administration, which "were thought not so fit, and so not allowed to be print-

ed." They were, however, separately reprinted in 1723, and again incorporated with the work itself in Dr Drake's excellent modern edition of it, Lond. 1807, 6 vols. 4to. In that reprint the castrated sheets are stated to be as follow. "William the Conqueror," A. D. 1066-67, 6 pages. "The Historie of Scotland," pp. 421-424; 448-450. An. Reg. 23. Eliz. pp. 1328-1381: An. Reg. 27, pp. 1419-1574, all inclusively: An. Reg. 28, and 12 pages of Index. The original castrated sheets have been sold separately for 21l. In the compilation of this work, Holinshed was assisted by several other persons, and as his death is supposed to have happened between 1578 and 1582, it was continued by Stow, Francis Thynne, Lancaster, herald in the time of Elizabeth, Abraham Fleming, &c. It appears however, to have been originally designed, and partly executed by Reginald Wolfe, the celebrated printer; "it having pleased God," says Holinshed in his dedication, "to call him to his mercie, after xxv years travail spent therein:" his intention being to make these Chronicles the foundation of "an universal cosmographie of the whole worlde." The present contents of these volumes are as follow:—I. an Historical Description of Britain in 8 books, by William Harrison, a student of Westminster and Oxford, who died in 1593; and the History of England from the time that it was first inhabited until it was last conquered, by Holinshed. The second volume is devoted to Ireland and Scotland; but the third also commenced by Holinshed, returns again to the History of England at the Norman invasion, and continues it to 1586.

Such were the principal Chronicles, of the six-

teenth century, the last also closing the series of modern editions of them, amounting to 15 volumes, which have been estimated at 40*l.* bound in calf.

The memoirs and other works illustrative of the sovereigns who reigned in this century, are too numerous to be all recounted, but the following are the principal: *Henry VIII.—The Flower of Fame, containing the bright renowne and most fortunate reigne of King Henry VIII., wherein is mention of matters by the rest of our chronographers over-passed*: by the Rev. Ulpian Fulwell, Lond. 1575, 4to. The celebrated Jesuit, Edmund Campion, wrote a Latin account of the most remarkable circumstances in this King's divorce from Queen Catherine, and his separation from the Romish Church, which was printed at the end of Dr Nicholas Harposfield's *Historia Anglicana Ecclesia*, Douay, 1622, folio; and, separately, Antw. 1631. There is also an account in French by *Jachim Grand*, Paris, 1688, 8vo, 2 vols. with a refutation of the first two books of Burnet's History of the Reformation. Dr Francis Godwin, Bishop of Hereford, wrote *Annales rerum Anglicarum Henrici VIII., Edwardi VI., et Mariae regnantibus*, Lond. 1616, folio, of which an English translation was published by his son Morgan Godwin, Lond. 1630, folio. Sir Robert Cotton made some collections for a life of this sovereign, which fell unfinished into the hands of Speed, who published them in his Chronicle. But of all the older memoirs, the most excellent were those written by the celebrated *Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, whose materials extended to four thick folio volumes. It was very successful,

has been frequently reprinted, and the editions of Lond. 1682, folio, and by the Hon. Horace Walpole, 1770, 4to, are considered the best. Of modern works, *Mrs A. T. Thomson's Memoirs of the Court of Henry VIII.* Lond. 1826, 2 vols. 8vo, will be found a pleasing and interesting history; as will also the very curious books of *Mr Sharon Turner*, entitled the *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, comprising the political history of the commencement of the English Reformation, Lond. 1827, 8vo, 2 vols., which form a portion of his *General History of England*. A few supplementary authorities illustrative of this reign may be mentioned, as the *Cabala, or mysteries of State, from Henry VIII. to Charles I.*, Lond. 1676, 8vo.; *Letters from Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn*, printed in Hearne's edition of Robert of Avesbury: authentic copies of the King's Will concerning the succession, printed in Hilkiah Higden's *Hereditary Right of the Crown of England* asserted, Lond. 1713, folio; and *The Privy Purse expenses of King Henry VIII., from November 1529 to December 1532; with introductory remarks and illustrative notes*, by Mr Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Lond. 1827, 8vo.—The celebrated *History of the Reformation*, by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, also belongs to this period; it was originally published in 3 vols. folio, Lond. 1679–1715, but probably the most convenient edition is the modern one, printed at Oxford in 6 vols. 8vo. In this work was first printed the autograph *Diary of Edward VI.*, which places that sovereign at the head of his own historians: as well as his *Letters to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, published by the Hon. Horace

Walpole, Lond. 1772, 4to. "A brief discourse relating to his times," was also written by *Dr Gerard Langbaine*, and published as Preface to *Sir John Chekes' "True Subject to the Rebel,"* Lond. 1641, 4to. The annals of *Mary's* reign appear to have been too unpopular, to have been separately recorded either by contemporary or subsequent historians; and a tract by *John Proctor*, a schoolmaster of Tunbridge, containing a slight account of *Sir Thomas Wyatt's* rebellion, Lond. 1555, 4to, is probably the principal publication relating to her times. There are, however, the most ample accounts of the life, government, and great events of the days of *Elizabeth*, furnished by her courtiers, statesmen, and even her enemies; since her establishment of the Protestant faith, and enforcing some laws against certain Papists, excited several to record the particulars of their prosecution. Thus, *Thomas Bourchier*, a Franciscan Doctor of the Sorbonne, wrote a history of the martyrdom of persons of his order, Paris, 1586, 8vo; but probably the most interesting work of this kind, is, "The Catholic Book of Martyrs, or a true British Martyrology, commencing with the Reformation," by the Right Rev. *Richard Challoner*, Bishop of Debra, in the curious edition of Lond. 1825, 8vo. Perhaps the most famous entire history of this time, was that written in very elegant Latin, by *William Camden*, Clarenceux King of Arms, undertaken at the special command of *Thomas Cecil*, Lord Barleigh. It was called "*Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha, ad annum salutis 1589,*" 1613, folio; the concluding part being published at

Leyden in 1625, 8vo, after the author's death. The best edition, however, is by Hearne, Oxf. 1717, 3 vols. 8vo, and the best English translation is by Dr Thomas Browne, Lond. 1629. The other printed works illustrative of this reign are principally as follows ; but the volumes connected with it are very numerous, and the MSS. of the British Museum contain almost unbounded materials for the history of this and the succeeding sovereigns. "Eliza, or the Life and Troubles of Elizabeth, from her Cradle to her Crown," by *Thomas Heywood*, Lond. 1632, 12mo. "The Felicity of the Time," by *Sir Francis Bacon*, Lond. 1632, 12mo. "Historical Memorials of the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James," by *Francis Osborne*, Lond. 1658, 8vo. *Historical Collections, &c.* by *Heyward Townesend*, Lond. 1680, folio, containing the Parliamentary Debates of her last fourteen years ; which, however, formed only a part of the extensive materials of *Sir Symonds Delves*, whose Journals of both Houses, during her whole reign, were printed Lond. 1682, folio. "True and exact account of the Wars with Spain, from 1585 to 1602, with a particular and exact account of the last seventeen years of Elizabeth's reign, both Military and Civil," the former by *Sir William Monson*, a celebrated English Admiral, who died in 1642, and the latter by H. Townsend, Lond. 1682, folio. "Character of Queen Elizabeth, or a full account of her Government in Church and State," by *Edmund Bohun*, Lond. 1693, 8vo. "Fragmenta Regalia, or Memoirs of Elizabeth, her Court and Favourites," by *Sir Robert Naunton*, Secretary of State to James I, printed with Edward Walsingham's "Arcana ;

Aulica," Lond. 1694, 8vo; though the best editions of the latter are,—that with notes and portraits, Lond. 1824, 12mo, and one attached to the "Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth," Lond. 1808, 8vo. "Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from 1581 till her death, in which the secret intrigues of her Court are illustrated from original papers of Anthony Bacon, Esq., &c., by *Dr Thomas Birch*, Lond. 1754, 2 vols. 4to. *Mademoiselle de Keralio's* Histoire d'Elisabeth, Paris, 1786, 8vo. "Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth," by the late *John Nichols*, Lond. 1788–1805, 3 vols. 4to, and the delightful work of *Miss Lucy Aikin*, entitled "Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth," Lond. 1818, 2 vols. 8vo. The works concerning *Mary Queen of Scots*, are scarcely less numerous than those relating to her sister; but it may perhaps be sufficient to recommend the general reader to *Mr George Chalmers's* very copious Life of that unfortunate Sovereign, Lond. 1822, 3 vols. 8vo.

Seventeenth Century.—The celebrated antiquary, *John Stow*, stands at the head of the historians of this period; and he is supposed to have been born in the parish of St Michael, Cornhill, London, about 1525. His first work was the *Summarie of Chronicles*, small quarto, already referred to, which was published in 1565, having been compiled at the request of Robert Lord Dudley. It passed through five editions in his life, and four afterwards; but, in 1573, appeared his *Annales*, in a stout octavo in black-letter, beginning with a general description of the kingdom, and then treating of the several Sovereigns, naming the Mayors,

Stow, *Remarkable Occurrences, &c.* of each year, especially every thing relating to London. In 1580 appeared his *Chronicle of England, from Brute unto this present year*, in quarto; which, after three more editions, was greatly enlarged, and continued to 1598, under the title of *Flores Historiarum, or Annals of this Kingdom, from the time of the Ancient Britons*, without any year on the title, but having the dedication to Archbishop Whitgift, dated Nov. 24th, 1600. This was, however, only his Summarie greatly extended; but though it was reprinted in five years with great additions, it was little more than an abridgement of a larger historical work which he had been forty years in collecting; travelling on foot through a great part of England, searching after manuscript historians in the Cathedral libraries. Stow died in poverty, April. 5th, 1605; but his *Chronicle* was revised and continued by Edmund Howes, who published two editions of it in 1615 and 1631, folio. He affirms, that he spent thirty years under scoffing and reproach, with great cost, in bringing it to perfection.

Contemporary with Stow was *Richard White*, or *Vitua*, Professor of Law, and Canon of St Peter's at Down, who wrote an elegant Latin work in nine books, called *The Histories of the Island of Britain, from the beginning of the World to the year 800*, Down, 1602, 8vo; to assert the Papal supremacy in this nation.

Samuel Daniel, an eminent poet, and Groom of the Privy Chamber to Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I., wrote a *History of England*, which came down to the reign of Edward III.; but the time of its first publication is uncertain. It was

received and read with great applause, and passed through several impressions; and was afterwards extended to the reign of Richard III., though with inferior ability, by *John Trussel*, Alderman of Winchester.

The famous historian *John Speed*, was born about 1555, and was enabled, by Sir Fulke Greville, to pursue the study of antiquities, which he continued till his death in 1619. His first work was the *Theatre of Great Britain*, Lond. 1611, folio, consisting of maps of counties and borough towns, ornamented with small engravings of palaces and mansions. It has frequently been republished, the last edition being 1734. This was followed by the *History of Great Britain, under the conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans*, Lond. 1611, 2 vols. large folio; which commences with the first inhabitants of the Island, and terminates with the Union of England and Scotland by James I., to whom it is dedicated. The text is ornamented with wood-engravings of coins, seats, and armorial ensigns; and the whole work has been considered more complete, than all the preceding histories put together. Speed is said to have occupied fourteen years in compiling it, and yet was obliged to trust much of his labour to other persons; as the reigns of Henry II. and John were written by Dr John Barkham, Dean of Bocking, the real author of Guillim's Heraldry, who died in 1642. A great part of the Life of Henry V. was collected by George Carew, Earl of Totness, and the list of monasteries by W. Burton, &c.; whilst Sir Robert Cotton read and revised the manuscript, both in matter and style.

William Martyn, Recorder of Exeter, who died in 1617, wrote the *History and Lives of XX. King's of England, from William I. to Henry VIII., with the succession of Dukes and Earls to the 12th year of James I.* (1614-15), Lond. 1615, folio. In 1638 it was republished, continued to Elizabeth by R. B., Master of Arts; but the work is valued chiefly for a fine plate of Sovereigns by William Marshall. It is said that King James took offence at some passages in this work, concerning either his own family or the Scotch nation, which brought the author into difficulties, and at length preyed on his mind and hastened his death.

William Slatyer wrote a work entitled *Palæ-Albion, or a History of Great Britaine, from the first peopling of this island to the reigne of King James*, in Latin and English verse, in 10 books with notes, Lond. 1621, folio. The author died in 1647, and was well esteemed for his poetical ability in both the above languages; though he wrote best in the latter.

Sir Richard Baker affirms his own *Chronicle* to have been compiled "with so great care and diligence, that if all others were lost, this only will be sufficient to inform posterity of all passages memorable, or worthy to be known." It was written in the Fleet prison, was published in 1641, folio; and has passed through several editions, being exceedingly popular. The first two impressions extend only from the Romans to James I.; but in 1660 it was republished by Edward Phillips, who continued it to the coronation of Charles II., having the perusal of some of the papers of General Monk concerning the Resto-

ration, which he was censured for having misrepresented, though the account was really written by Sir Thomas Clarges. Soon after its publication, *Thomas Blount*, a barrister, printed his *Animadversions* on it, Oxf. 1672, 8vo; which, however, did not appear to impede its success, since it has passed through eight editions. Baker died in confinement in 1664; and the best edition of his work is called that of 1733, continued to the end of the reign of George I., though there are many curious papers in the former impressions which are omitted in this.

The annalists of the civil war were not numerous; but one of the most remarkable was *John Vicars*, a fanatical usher in Christ's Hospital, who died in 1652, having written a strange work entitled *Magnalia Dei Anglicana, or England's Parliamentary Chronicle*. It was published in four parts from 1643 to 1646, 4to. The first division of it being called "Jehovah Jireh, or God in the mount;" the second "God's arke overtopping the world's waves;" and the third "the burning bush not consumed."

Another historian of the same period, though of a different party, was *James Heath*, who published a *briefe chronicle of the late intestine war in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland*; comprised in 4 parts, Lond. 1661, 2 vols. 8vo. It is said to have been compiled from newspapers and pamphlets, and to be full of errors as to names and times; but there were other editions of it continued from 1637 to 1663 by the author, and to 1675, by John Phillips, derived chiefly from gazettes, though the chief attractions of this book are a frontispiece and 37 portraits,

seldom found genuine and perfect. In this place also may be mentioned *Robert Johnstone*, a Scots historian, who wrote a Latin work entitled *The History of the Affairs of Britain, and many of those of France, Holland, and Germany, as well political as ecclesiastical, from the year 1572 to the year 1628*. Amsterd. 1655, folio.

The History of England by *John Milton*, was first published in 1671, 4to, and is now inserted in his prose works. It is short, and extends only to William I.; but in the manuscript there were some suppressed passages descriptive of a party of political adventures. They were however preserved in a separate pamphlet, and printed with his works.

Sir Winston Churchill, who died in 1688, was the father of the Duke of Marlborough, and wrote *Divi Britannici, being a remark upon the lives of all the Kings of this Isle, from the year of the world 2855, unto the year of grace 1660*, Lond. 1675, folio. It was dedicated to the King, and it contained some passages concerning the sovereign's power of raising supplies without Parliament, which so offended some of the members of the time, that the author had them cancelled, and the work reprinted. It is very accurate as to dates and authorities.

A Genealogical History of the Kings of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain, from the Norman Conquest, to the year 1677; with their seals, tombs, arms, &c., by Francis Sandford, Lancaster Herald, Lond. 1677, folio. The chief attractions of this work being the engravings, the above edition is sometimes recommended and preferred; though the best is decidedly that by

Samuel Stebbing, Somerset Herald, published in 1707, with a continuation to the reign of Queen Anne. The volume of Sandford, however, is also extremely curious and erudite in its heraldical information, and contains in the notes some interesting particulars concerning the numerous changes in the Royal arms of Britain. But the most extensive and beautiful work on this subject, is *Mr Thomas Williment's Regal Heraldry, or the Armorial Insignia of the Kings and Queens of England, from coeval authorities*, with coloured engravings. Lond. 1821, 4to.

In 1679 appeared the first edition of an excellent Abridgement of English History, though now little regarded, entitled *Medulla Historiæ Anglicanæ*, Lond. 8vo. It was originally published anonymously, but was soon attributed to *Dr William Howell*, Chancellor of Lincoln, who died in 1683. It is executed with considerable judgment, and deserves a place with the best historical collections; but as it was several times reprinted, it was continued by persons of different sentiments to the author.

Bulstrode Whitelocke is well known as a member of the famous Long Parliament, though he preserved the Royal library and collection of medals from republican fury. He died in 1676, after which appeared his two historical works, entitled *Memorials of English Affairs from the beginning of the reign of Charles I. to that of Charles II.* Lond. 1682, folio; the best edition being that of 1732, with additions and restored passages which had been erased by Arthur, Earl of Anglesea, who revised the manuscript.

This is a work of great reputation and excellence ; but his other *Memorials of English Affairs, from Brute to the end of James I.* Lond. 1709, folio, is at present but little read or referred to.

Dr Robert Brady, the celebrated supporter of prerogative, was regius professor of physic at Cambridge, physician to James II., and keeper of the records in the Tower ; which enabled him to procure for his historical works the character given them by the Lord Keeper Guildford, that they were " compiled so religiously upon the very text, letter, and syllable of the authorities, especially those upon record, that they might very justly pass for antiquarians law books. He died in 1709, having in 1685 published his *Complete History of England, from the first entrance of the Romans to the end of Henry III.* folio ; and in 1700 a *Continuation*, containing these reigns of Edward I, II, III, and Richard II. To these works is usually added a third volume which appeared in 1684, entitled *an Introduction to the old English History* ; consisting of three tracts, the first two being answers to books concerning the rights of the Commons, and the history of the English succession. To these volumes Dr Brady endeavoured to prove, that all liberties were derived from the crown and concessions of princes ; that the Normans themselves, wearied by the oppressions of the feudal system, raised all the ancient civic commotions in England ; and that no former rights of the subject were connected with the controversy. He furnished his history with the names and an account of the authorities consulted, an extensive appendix of charters and original documents, and a glossary of expressions used in ancient re-

corde. He illustrated many obscure passages in the Saxon laws, by comparing them with those of the ancient Germans, &c; while his Preface to the Norman History, describes the customs and legislature then brought into the nation. His principal authority is Matthew Paris, well epitomised and supported by record authorities; and in his Introduction he endeavoured to prove, that the Commons of England were not introduced into parliament before 1264-65, the 49th of Henry III., unless it were by the tenants in chief; that William I. made an absolute conquest of the realm; and that the English succession is hereditary. These principles excited an attempt to defame his work as a libel against the constitutional government.

The most esteemed historian of the opposite party, and the last of eminence whose works appeared in this century, was *James Tyrrell, Esq.* a very learned lawyer, who assisted in the Revolution, and wrote in defence of it. His *General History of England both ecclesiastical and civil, from the earliest accounts of time to the reign of William III.*, was published in opposition to Dr. Brady, in 5 parts, or 3 vols. Lond. 1697-1704, folio; but the author dying in 1718, it extended only to the reign of Richard II. It contains numerous charters and original records as the materials whence it was derived; and the author says of his motives for compiling it, "I call God to witness, that neither from a vain ambition of glory, nor prospect of any temporal advantage, nor design of gratifying any party or faction, have I writ any thing that may disgust men of different principles and notions."

The best separate works, illustrative of the life and reign of *James I.* in England, are the following :—*The Court of King James described*, Lond. 1619, 1620, 4to. “Five Years of King James, or the Condition of the State of England, and its relation to other Provinces,” by *Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, Lond. 1643, 4to. “Narrative History of King James, for the first Fourteen Years,” by the same, Lond. 1651, 4to. “Historical Narrative of the first Fourteen Years of King James I.,” by *Michael Sparkes*, Lond. 1651, 4to. “A History of Great Britain, being the Life and Actions of King James I., from his Accession to his Death,” by *Arthur Wilson*, Lond. 1653, folio. *Annals of King James and Charles I., from 1612 to 1642.* “Memoirs, containing an Account of the most remarkable affairs of State, under the reigns of Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James,” by *Sir James Melville*, Lond. 1683, fol. by *George Scott*, the manuscript being accidentally found in Edinburgh Castle. “*Annales Jacobi Regis, ab anno 1603 ad 1623,*” Lond. 1691, 4to, by *William Camden*, a translation of which is in Kennet’s Collections. “Memoirs and Letters relating to the History of Britain, in the reign of James I.,” by *Sir David Dalrymple*, Glasg. 1762, 8vo. “*Secret History of the Court of King James I., containing Francis Osborne’s Traditional Memoirs; Sir Anthony Weldon’s Court and Character of King James; William Sanderson’s Aulicus Coquinarius; and Sir Edward Peyton’s Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuart,*” Edin. 1811, 2 vols. 8vo. “Memoirs of the Court of King James I.,” by *Miss Lucy Aikin*, Lond. 1822, 2 vols. 8vo: and “*Progresses and Public*

Processions of King James I.," by the late *Mr John Nichols*, 4to. Out of the almost innumerable publications relating to the life and times of *Charles I.* the following may be referred to:—
 "The reign of *Charles I.* displayed in Annals," by *Hammond Lestrange*, Lond. 1656, folio: *Dr Peter Heylin* published some observations on this work, Lond. 1656, 8vo.; and "A Short View of the Life and Reign of King *Charles*," Lond. 1658, 8vo.: "Complete History of the Life and Reign of King *Charles I.*," by *William Sanderson*, Lond. 1658, folio: "Memoirs of the last two years of *Charles I.*," by *Sir Thomas Herbert* and others, of which the best edition is Lond. 1813, 8vo.; and with which should be joined *Sir Philip Warwick's* Memoirs of the Reign of King *Charles I.*, continued to the Restoration, Lond. 1701, or 1813, 8vo.: *Sir Edward Walker's* "Historical Discourses upon several occasions in the Reign of *Charles I.*," Lond. 1705, folio: *Isaac de Laney's* "History of the Reign of King *Charles I.*," Lond. 1716, 8vo, translated from the French: "The Life and Death of *Charles I.*," by *William Lilly*, published by *Charles Burman*, Lond. 1717, 8vo.: and *Sir Henry Halford's* "Account of opening the Coffin of *Charles I.* at Windsor," Lond. 1813, 4to. For illustrating the Interregnum, the most interesting works will be, *A History of the Commons Warre of England, begun 1640 to 1652*, Lond. 1662, 8vo.: "History of the Civil Wars," by *Thomas Hobbes*, Lond. 1679, 8vo.: *Sir William Dugdale's* View of the late Troubles in England, Lond. 1680, folio: Rise and Progress of the Troubles in England, with the history of the Restauration, by *George Bates* and *Thomas Skynner*, Lond.

1685, 8vo : " A History of the Commonwealth of England to the Restoration," by *Mr William Godwin*, Lond. 1827, 8vo, 3 vols ; and the Lives of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, by the Rev. Mark Noble, Birm. 1787, 8vo, and Oliver Cromwell, Lond. 1821, 8vo, 2 vols. There are but few separate and genuine memoirs, &c. of *Charles II.*, but the following may be noticed out of the numerous publications connected with his time.—*History of Charles II., from the murder of his father to 1660*, Lond. 1660, 12mo ; his *Life and Reign*, Lond. 1662, 12mo ; " Mystery and method of his Restoration," by *Dr J. Price*, Lond. 1680, 8vo ; *Secret History of the reigns of Charles II. and James II.*, Lond. 1690, 12mo ; and *Dr White Kennet's* " Register and Chronicle, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of matters of fact, from the Restoration, 1660–62," Lond. 1728, folio. *King James II.* may be properly placed at the head of his own historians by his celebrated *Life, collected out of Memoirs, writ of his own hand, with his Will and Advice to his son* ; which were edited by command of H. R. H. the Prince Regent, from the original manuscripts, in his possession, by the Rev. J. S. Clarke, Lond. 1816, 2 vols. 4to. Some extracts from the life of James II., as written by himself, were also published in *James Macpherson's* collection of " Original Papers, containing the Secret History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover," Lond. 1775, 2 vols. 4to. Of other works may be mentioned, " The Secret History of Whitehall, from the Restoration to the abdication of the late King James," Lond. 1697, 2 vols. 8vo, by David Jones, who also published a continuation ;

Life of James II., illustrated with medals, Lond. 1702, 8vo ; *The Life of James II., and the particulars of his death*, Lond. 1703, 8vo ; *Le Pere Pr. Brettoneau's* Abridgement of the life of James II., 1704, 8vo. In 1808, appeared the celebrated posthumous and unfinished work of the Right Hon. C. J. Fox, entitled, "History of the early part of the Reign of James II.," edited by his nephew Richard Lord Holland, 4to ; which was followed by the Right Hon. George Rose's Observations on it, with Sir Patrick Hume's Diary, Lond. 1809, 4to, and by Mr Samuel Heywood's Vindication of it, 4to, Lond. 1811. The *Revolution of 1688* has been treated of by *Hugh Speke*, in his *Memoirs and Secret History*, of its most remarkable transactions, Dubl. 1709, 12mo, Lond. 1715, 8vo ; by the Rev. *Laurence Echard*, in his "History of the Revolution and Establishment of England, with a review of the reigns of Charles and James II.," Lond. 1725, 8vo ; by *Robert Ferguson's* History, Lond. 1727, 8vo ; and by that of *Dr Alexander Duncan*, Edin. 1790, 8vo. The history of the Life and reign of *William III.* was separately written by *Walter Harris*, Dubl. 1749, fol., and by *Abel Boyer*, the author of the French Dictionary, 3 vols. 8vo.

Eighteenth Century.—The early part of this period was remarkable for the publication of numerous and excellent works connected with the national history, both in a general form and in collections of State-papers, and other authentic materials and illustrations. In 1702, appeared the first volume of the immortal work of *Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon*, *The History of the Rebellion, and Civil War in England, begun in the year*

1641. He commenced writing it in 1645, in retirement in the Isle of Jersey, under the special encouragement of Charles I., who furnished him with many private memorials for it. It was published after the death of the author, by Dr Aldrich of Oxford, who wrote the preface; and the succeeding two volumes appeared in 1703 and 1704, with a Proclamation from Queen Anne, for fourteen years exclusive sale. The sole right of printing is now vested in the University of Oxford, from the Clarendon Press, of which have appeared very numerous editions, all excellent, though those of 1816, 6 vols. 4to, and 1819, 3 vols. 8vo, are sometimes recommended. Lord Clarendon also wrote an account of his own life, from his birth to the Restoration, and a continuation of the same, and of his history of the Rebellion to his banishment in 1667, printed Oxf. 1759, fol. 3 vols. 8vo. A *Supplement* to his History, contains the Letters and Speeches referred to, Lond. 1717, 8vo; and his *State Papers* from 1521-74, the materials from which it was compiled, Oxf. 1767-86, 3 vols. folio.

The *Rev. Lawrence Echard*, archdeacon of Stow, published the first volume of his History of England in 1707, folio, beginning at the invasion of the Romans, and carrying it down to the death of James I., in two volumes more, which appeared in 1718. The work did honour both to the industry and candour of the author; though his relation of a preternatural compact between Oliver Cromwell and the Devil, before the battle of Worcester, September 3d 1651, brought it into considerable disrepute. This curious anecdote will also be found in Mr Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's

edition of the Rev. Robert Law's Memorials, Edin. 1818, 4to, p. 4, Note *. Echard was excited to engage in this work by the Duke of Ormond, to whom he dedicated it; and in his Preface he gives a very useful account of the ancient and contemporary authors from whom it was compiled. His 2d and 3d volumes were dedicated to George I.; and were succeeded by a Letter from Dr Calamy, in defence of the Whigs and Dissenters, and the misrepresentations of the work. Echard's History, however, was generally well received, and passed through several editions, though it declined on the publication of Rapin. Its facts are related in a perspicuous style, and the work is rendered entertaining by the notices which it contains of literary characters. The author died suddenly in 1730.

The Complete History of England, attributed to Dr White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, first appeared in 1709, 3 vols. folio; but the second edition of 1719 is considered the best, since it has several alterations and additions, and Notes inserted by the Rev. John Strype. This most valuable work was designed by the booksellers as a collection of the best authors of English history down to the reign of Charles II., and was executed by Mr John Hughes, the memoirs of the several Sovereigns being written by the following authors, some of whom have been already noticed; the whole being illustrated by copious and useful Notes, selected from various manuscripts and authentic sources.—Vol. I. Milton's History up to William I.; Daniell's History and Lives,

from William I. to Henry VI.; * that of Richard II. being "new writ;" Habington's Life of Edward IV.; Sir Thomas More's Lives of Edward V. and Richard III., continued by Hall and Holinshed; Buck's Life of Richard III.; Lord Bacon's Life of Henry VII.—Vol. II. Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.; Hayward's Life of Edward VI.; Hughes's Life of Queen Mary, translated from Godwin; Camden's Life of Elizabeth, and Appendix, translated by Davis; Camden's Annals of James I., the first translation; Arthur Wilson's Life of James I.—Vol. III. contains the Royal Lives, from Charles I. to William III., supposed to have been written by Kennet. This work was succeeded by the Hon. Roger North's "Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of Dr White Kennet's pretended Complete History, shewing the perverse and wicked design of it; with some Memoirs occasionally inserted, all tending to vindicate the honour of King Charles II." Lond. 1740, 4to. This work contains many curious particulars, though its language is harsh and intemperate.

In 1724–35, *Paul Rapin de Thoyras* first published his very popular *Histoire d'Angleterre* at the Hague, in 12 vols. 4to, which came down to the time of William III. His work has been twice translated into English, by John Kelly, 2 vols. folio; and by the Rev. Nicholas Tindal, with some excellent Notes ecclesiastical and civil, Lond. 1725–31, 15 vols. 8vo, and afterwards

* This part of the work, in the first edition, was conducted by John Oldmixon, who made no scruple of altering the text in numerous places, which made the original impression of little value.

greatly improved in 3 vols. folio, Lond. 1732-36, with a Continuation by Thomas Lediard. The best editions, however, are those of 1743, 5 vols. folio, or 1757, 21 vols. 8vo; the price of the former being considerably increased by the engravings. It was not Rapin's original intention to compose an entire history; but curiosity and leisure having induced him to proceed to the reign of Henry II., the publication of Rymer's *Fœdera* introduced him to so many important and authentic materials, that he abstracted 16 volumes of that astonishing work, which was afterwards published in English, entitled, *Acta Regia*, Lond. 1726-27, 4 vols. 8vo. The *Abridgement of Rapin's History* was published, Lond. 1747, 3 vols. 8vo, by the Rev. Philip Morant, who assisted Tindal in his translation.

The History of his Own Times by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was ordered by the author's will not to be printed until six years after his death; and accordingly it was published, vol. I. Lond. 1724, folio; and vol. II. 1734. The first part of it was written before 1705, the continuation being dated in the May of that year. It commences with a summary of affairs in Scotland before the Restoration, and extends to 1713, in seven books. It was required by Bishop Burnet's will, that the manuscript was to be faithfully printed, and the editors of the first volume, stated their intention of depositing the original in some public library, upon the appearance of the second; but it was very soon believed, that many passages of the autograph work, were omitted in both the volumes. An account of these suppressions, will be found in the preface to

the excellent edition, conducted by Martin Joseph Routh, Oxf. 1823, 6 volumes 8vo, which is by far the best impression, being improved by revisions; the restoration of the omitted passages to vol. I.; the remarks of Swift, and notes by the Earls of Dartmouth and Hardwicke, hitherto unpublished.

The History of England during the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I. By a Lover of Truth and Liberty, Lond. 1744-46, 2 vols. folio, was written by *James Ralph*, who was very conversant with the history and politics of the nation; and who had applied himself with great assiduity to the study of works on party matters, especially the contests of Whig and Tories. He is esteemed by Mr Fox as an historian of great diligence and acuteness. His first volume is occupied by an elaborate review of the reigns of Charles and James II., but the history is conducted no lower than the death of William III.

The *General History of England* by *William Guthrie*, Lond. 1744-51, 3 vols. folio, bound in 4, extends from the Roman Invasion to 1659, though it is stated to be carried down to the Revolution. It deserves considerable praise; and the author is remarkable for having anticipated Horace Walpole in some of his remarks concerning Richard III. which he first published in the *Critical Review*.

Another *General History of England* was that compiled by *Thomas Carte*, Lond. 1747-55, 4 vols. folio, which extends from the Roman invasion to 1654, the carrying it on to the Revolution being prevented by the author's death in 1754. It is probable that this publication was designed

from the dislike with which Carte and some others viewed the success of Rapin; and in April 1738 he published a quarto pamphlet containing a general account of the materials for a History of England, with proposals for raising subscriptions and executing the work. By October he procured subscribers to the amount of L.600 yearly, and began collecting materials, in which he received the highest encouragement; the City of London subscribing L.50 yearly, for seven years; and other Corporate Bodies and Colleges were also contributors. The work is written with great exactness and knowledge of authorities; but after the greatest expectation had been excited, he nearly ruined his labours in the very first volume, by relating a cure of the Evil by the Pretender.* Several pamphlets appeared in consequence, in 1748, the city withdrew its support, and the work fell into general neglect, until of late years when it was seen how greatly Hume was indebted to it. The author, however, was not discouraged from proceeding. His second volume, extending from 1216 to 1509, appeared in 1750; the third, which terminated in 1613, was published in 1752; and the fourth, which Mr Carte did not live to finish, was completed in 1755.

The works of Tyrrell and Carte were the foundation of the celebrated history by *David Hume*, of which the first volume appeared in 1755, 4to, entitled *A Portion of English History, from the*

* This anecdote will be found in Carte's History, Vol. I. pages 291-292, Note 4.

accession of James I. to the Revolution; it terminated, however, at the reign of Charles I. The second part appeared in 1756-57, and extended to James II. in 2 vols.; and, as he wrote backwards, the third division, entitled *The History of the House of Tudor*, comprehending the English Sovereigns from Henry VII. to Elizabeth, was published in 1759, 2 vols. 4to. These were perfected in 1761-62, by two volumes more, including the earlier part of the English History, from the Roman Invasion. The best octavo editions of the whole work are considered to be those of 1778 and 1786, in 8 volumes, containing his last revisions, but that of 1789 is most esteemed for the portraits of the Sovereigns. The excellence of Hume's history is its elegance and power of language; yet even as a historian he has many faults, since his party feelings led him to disguise some facts, and his scepticism induced him to deride every thing which approached the nature of revealed religion. With the work of Hume, the name of *Dr Tobias Smollett* is almost inseparably connected; since the *Continuation* of his own *Complete History of England*, from the Revolution to 1765, is usually printed with Hume. His own work extended from the Roman Invasion, to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748; and was an extraordinary instance of literary industry, being composed and prepared for the press in fourteen months, and published in 1757-58, four vols. 4to. His continuation was first printed in 1763-65, five vols. 8vo., but the last volume is said to have been written by Guthrie, whilst Smollett was abroad on the Continent: his historical writings, however, are supposed to

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sale of the work. The original author having concluded his labours at the death of Henry VIII, a continuation was commenced by Mr *James Petit Andrews*, to the decease of Elizabeth, Lond. 1796, 4to, 8vo, two vols. A work, however, more corresponding to Dr Henry's plan and language is yet wanting, as well as a copious index to the whole; since that attached to the edition of 1814, twelve volumes, is not sufficiently extensive for a work containing so much information. Mr Andrews had, however, been prepared for his task, by having abstracted much of Dr Henry's collections into his own *History of Great Britain, connected with the Chronology of Europe, with notes, &c. containing anecdotes of the times, lives of the learned, and specimens of their works*, Lond. 1794, two vols. 4to. The historical part of this work, extends from the Roman Invasion, to the death of Henry VIII, the Chronology of England and Europe being carried on collaterally on opposite pages; and at proper intervals were inserted appendixes, containing incidents, biographical sketches, specimens of poetry, and anecdotes and observations relating to the religion, government, manners, &c. of Great Britain in the several periods. Another work which was abridged from Dr Henry, was the late *Joseph Strutt's Chronicle of England, from the landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain, to the Norman Conquest*, Lond. 1777-78, two vols. 4to. It is arranged precisely on the same plan as Dr Henry's work, and is illustrated with forty-two engravings from ancient originals; but it was rather a dull book, though it contained considerable information, and was not continued to its proposed extent of six volumes for want of en-

couragement. The historical reader will, however, derive much important knowledge from the other superior publications of this excellent and industrious antiquary, not elsewhere to be met with. *The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, Lond. 1773-93, 4to, furnish contemporary portraits of the English Sovereigns, from Edward the Confessor to Henry VIII., with ancient delineations of remarkable events, and distinguished personages in history. *Horda Angel-lynnan; or a complete View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c. of the People of England, from the arrival of the Saxons to the reign of Henry VIII., with an account of the Britons under the Romans*, Lond. 1774-76. 4to, three vols. *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, Lond. 1803, 4to; and *A complete View of the Dresses and Habits of the People of England, from the Saxons to the present time*, Lond. 1796-99, two vols. 4to, an abstract of which with plates, is inserted in the Rev. T. D. Fosbroke's *Archæological Dictionary*, and also separately published.

The Memoirs of the Sovereigns of the eighteenth century, are nearly all contained in the histories already referred to. Of *Queen Anne*, however, may be mentioned the *History of her reign* by *Abel Boyer*, Lond. 1703-12, 8vo, 10 vols.; *A Collection of her Speeches, Messages, &c.* 1714, 8vo; *Gibson's Memoirs*, being a Supplement to the history of her reign, Lond. 1729, 8vo. *Memoirs of her four last years*, Lond. 1742, 8vo, the history of which time was also written by Swift, and is printed in his works. The *Medallic History of England during the reigns of William and Mary, Queen Anne, and George I.*, engraved

by J. Baron for Tindal's continuation of *Rapin's History*, Lond. 1745, folio; and *Charles Hamilton's Transactions* during the reign of Queen Anne, from the Union to her death, Lond. 1790, 8vo. To these may be added, *Mr William Belsham's History of England*, from the Revolution to the Peace of Amiens, Lond. 1806, 12 vols. 8vo. *Annals of the Reign of George III.*, from 1760 to 1815, by *Dr John Aikin*, Lond. 1816, 2 vols. 8vo; and the *History of England*, from the Accession of George III. to the Peace of 1783, by *John Adolphus, Esq.* Lond. 1817, 3 vols. 8vo.

The following publications belong to the present century, and close up the noble body of English Historians. *A History of England during the Middle Ages, comprising the reigns from William the Conqueror to the accession of Henry VIII.*; and also the *History of the Literature, Poetry, Religion, and Language of England during that period*, by Mr SHARON TURNER, Lond. 1825, 8vo, 5 vols. This work was commenced in the author's excellent *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, begun in 1799, and being an entirely original production, gave a perfectly new view of that people, especially the 4th volume, on their manners, customs, &c. published in 1805. The above history was begun in 1814, 4to, and has recently been carried down to the death of Henry VIII. *Chronological Abridgement of the History of Great Britain, from the first invasion of the Romans to the present reign, (1763)*, by ANT. FR. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE, Lond. 1811, 8vo. 4 vols. With this work may also be noticed the ensuing, which are nearly on the same plan. *The Chronological History of England to 1720*,

by John Pointer, 3 vols. 12mo; *The Chronological Historian, from the Roman invasion to the 14th year of George II.*, by Thomas Salmon, Lond. 1747, 8vo, 2 vols.; and *The British Chronological Historian, from the Roman invasion to 1762*, Lond. 1775, 8vo, 3 vols.

The History of England by DR JOHN LINGARD, commences at the Invasion of Cæsar, and extends to the Martyrdom of Charles I. Lond. 1819-25, 4to, 6 vols.; 1825, 8vo, 10 vols.

The Constitutional History of England, from the reign of Henry VII. to the death of George II., by HENRY HALLAM, Esq., Lond. 1827, 4to, 2 vols. The historical student should possess this author's excellent *View of Europe during the Middle Ages*, Lond. 1826, 8vo, 3 vols.

Having thus completed the ancient and contemporary historians of England, it remains only to be stated, that the list was originally founded on that contained in Part I. Chapters iii-vi. of the *English Historical Library of Dr William Nicolson*, Bishop of Carlisle, Lond. 1776, 4to, considerably extended and improved by the *General Biographical Dictionary of Mr Alexander Chalmers*, Lond. 1812-17, 8vo, 32 vols.; the late *Mr William Harris's Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, Lond. 1821, 8vo; *Dr Robert Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica*, Lond. 1824, 4to, 4 vols.; and the *Rev. Dr T. F. Dibdin's Library Companion*, Lond. 1824, 8vo, besides the very numerous works referred to in the preceding pages.

SECTION II.—*National Records and Public Documents.*—The very great importance of these

articles, as the most authentic materials of History, and the almost infinite variety of their contents, can scarcely be conceived by those to whom they are not familiar. "Happily for us," says Sir Joseph Ayloffe, "our stores of Public Records are justly reckoned to *excel* in age, beauty, correctness and authority, whatever the *choicest archives abroad* can produce of the like sort. By an appeal to *these*, the lawyer and the historian may receive satisfaction in all their inquiries; whether confined to the rectifying of the mistakes into which some writers have fallen, and to the clearing up of those difficulties in our history which have for a long time seemed insurmountable; or whether they are enlarged and extended to the attainment of a thorough knowledge of the law, constitution, and polity of the kingdom." These are, however, so very numerous, and are dispersed in so many repositories which are usually familiar only to the antiquary, that a volume of great extent would be required to give a very general idea of their contents and places of security. Some brief catalogues and indexes have been compiled of them, but they contain little beyond their names and depositories; and the only works which can be referred to for any distinct and useful information, are the *Reports from the Select Committee appointed to Inquire into the State of the Public Records of the Kingdom*, Lond. 1801-19, 3 vols. folio.

It must be evident, then, that the limits of this work will allow but little to be said concerning them; which, however, is the less important, as several of the national records most valuable for the illustration of history, have been rendered more

accessible, by being printed by Royal command, under the Parliamentary Commission. These noble volumes include the Domesday Book, or Survey of England, compiled by order of William I.; Rymer's Collection of Royal Treaties, Letters, &c. originally published in the reign of Queen Anne, but now astonishingly improved both in beauty, contents, and fidelity; the Table of the Patent Rolls, whereon are recorded the Royal grants of lands and offices, creations of Peers and commissions of Judges, from 1202 to 1488; the Quo Warranto Pleas, or inquiries into the corporate and private privileges of the kingdom, in the times of Edward I. II. III.; the pleadings heard before the King in Parliament and Council, from the time of Richard I. down to that of Edward II.; and many other highly interesting documents, of which an account is given in the publications themselves, and in the volumes before referred to.

There is considerable dispute as to the exact period when the present constitution of Parliament was established in England, though it is allowed that the Privy Council, has always possessed the power of issuing occasional proclamations, which are of equal force with the statutes, when they are not contrary to them. These proceedings, with all Despatches and Instructions of Foreign Ministers, and public papers, either issued in this realm, or transmitted hither to the Secretaries of State, are afterwards laid up in a national repository called the State Paper Office, established in the Royal Palace of Whitehall; together with Credentials of Ambassadors, Letters from

foreign Princes and States, Leagues, Memorials, Treaties, &c. As it was the custom, down to the end of the seventeenth century, for Secretaries of State, upon quitting the office, to retain the whole of their correspondence and papers, which descended to their families as honourable memorials of their employments,—many of these collections of State Papers and Letters have been printed and published, which illustrate, in a very high degree, the times wherein they were originally written. They are commonly known by the name of the Original Collector, Possessor, or Editor; as the *Hardwicke* Papers, which extend from 1501 to 1726, and were published in 1778, 2 vols. 4to. The Papers of William Cecil, Lord *Burghley*, embracing the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth, from 1542 to 1596, edited by Dr Samuel Haynes, and the Rev. William Murdin, Lond. 1740–49, 2 vols. folio. The *Sidney* Papers contain Letters and Memorials of State, by Sir Henry, Sir Philip, and Sir Robert Sidney, in the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, James, and Charles I.; and were edited by Arthur Collins, Lond. 1748, 2 vols. folio. *Sir Dudley Digges's* Complete Ambassador, relates to the embassies and instructions issued under Elizabeth, Lond. 1655, folio; and *Dr Patrick Forbes's* Letters and State-papers give a view of the transactions of the same reign, in letters of the Queen and her principal ministers, Lond. 1740, folio, 2 vols.; whilst *Sir Ralph Winwood's* Memorials, are also concerning State affairs in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Lond. 1725, 3 vols. folio. *Sir Dudley Carleton's* State-papers

were those written during his embassy at the Hague early in the reign of Charles I. Lond. 1757, 4to; and another collection of the same time, from 1638 to 1660, was made by *John Thurloe*, and edited by Dr Birch, Lond. 1742, 7 vols. folio. The State-papers and despatches of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of *Strafford*, were published in 1739, 2 vols. folio, by Dr William Knowler; those of Edward Hyde, Earl of *Clarendon*, in 1767, 3 vols. folio; and there is a new and highly improved edition of the Diaries and Correspondence of his sons, Henry Earl of Clarendon, and Laurence Earl of Rochester, published under the care of Mr S. W. Singer, Lond. 1827, 2 vols. 4to. *James Macpherson's* State-papers refer to a later period of history, and were published in 1775, 2 vols. 4to.

But such collections, as well as the multitude of original letters by royal and noble personages which have been printed at various periods, are by far too numerous for recital in this place. Of the latter class, however, may be mentioned as most particularly interesting, *Sir John Fenn's* Original Letters of the Paston family, written in the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., 5 vols. 4to: Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in a series of Original Letters, &c. by *Edmund Lodge, Esq.* Norroy, King of Arms, Lond, 1791, 4 vols. 4to.: and *Mr Henry Ellis's* very elegant collection of Original Letters illustrative of English History, Lond. 1825-27, 7 vols. 8vo. The proceedings of Parliament are also another very important branch of

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ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE
HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

**HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE RELIGION OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE AGES OF PAGANISM TO THE
CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.**

CHAPTER I.

**RELIGION OF THE BRITISH, SAXON, AND DANISH
PERIODS.**

IN every country the history of its Theological Faith is worthy of an attentive and primary examination, since it embraces so many particulars illustrative of the Laws and the Literature, the Warfare, the Manners, and even the Pastimes of its inhabitants. By an acquaintance with their Ecclesiastical Annals their characters are often best

developed, their antiquities most successfully studied, and their national events most perfectly comprehended and elucidated. For these reasons, therefore, as well as from the intrinsic importance of the subject, such a narrative has the pre-eminence in all works devoted to historical illustration, and is placed the first of those contained in the following pages.

The history of Religion in England appears to present four distinct features or periods, consisting of the Heathen ages of Britain, the establishment of Christianity, the reformation and settlement of its national Church, and the introduction of the Puritans and the various Sects of Dissenters : of which the first division is contained in the present chapter.

Section I. DRUIDISM.—1. *General Character.*

Although it be certain that the most ancient Religions were destitute both of Temples and of Idols, consisting only of the worship of God in the purest simplicity of Nature, no history commemorates the time when they were unknown in Britain ; which, even under the darkest shadow of Paganism, possessed an unhappy degree of eminence and antiquity. For when Julius Cæsar invaded this Island about 56 years before the Birth of Christ, he remarked, that the institution of Druidism was “ supposed to come originally from Britain, whence it passed into Gaul ; and even at this day,” he continues, “ such as are desirous of being perfect in it, travel thither for instruction.” It is even presumed, however, that there were Druids remarkable for their learning and antiquity before the time of Pythagoras, who died about 497

years before the Christian era. Obscured by its traditionary descent, and defiled by almost countless corruptions, it is notwithstanding probable, that even this Faith had once purity in its principles, and the true God for its author; since it must have been first derived from Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, the great progenitor of the Gauls, Britons, and all the Celtic nations, together with their language, &c. : and it cannot be imagined, that he either did not know, or not communicate, the doctrines of a genuine Religion. These, remaining unwritten, were again taught by his descendants, losing at every remove something of their excellence, and being farther perverted by the idolatries of other nations, they were at length entirely lost in that cruel and blasphemous superstition, which has been regarded with horror by all succeeding ages. The Priests of the British Pagans were collectively called Druids, a name for which numerous derivations have been assigned, alluding to their office and worship. By some authors, it is deduced from the Teutonic, *Druthio*, a servant of Truth; and by others from *Dry*, a Magician, or the Welsh, *Dar Gwydd*, a superior Priest. The most general etymology, however, is that which brings the word from *Drus*, the Greek name of an oak, since it made so prominent a feature in their religious ceremonies. During the ages of their authority, the rank of the Druids was of the highest order, their influence, on all subjects of the most considerable nature and extent, and on that of religion absolute and supreme. "No sacred rite," says Diodorus Siculus, "was ever performed without a Druid; by them, as being the favourite of

candidates of equal merit, an election took place, which was sometimes terminated only by arms. Antiquaries are not agreed as to the other orders into which this priesthood was divided, with regard to their studies and religious offices : though it is generally admitted, that they consisted principally of Bards, Eubages, Vates, and Druids, properly so called, which being the most numerous of all, gave name to the whole society. The *Bards* were the progenitors of the heroic, historical, and genealogical poets of Germany, Gaul, and Britain. They sang to the lyre or harp, the actions of illustrious men, and do not appear either to have interfered with the ecclesiastical office, or to have introduced any thing of a religious nature into their poems. In those ancient reliques of the British language called Triades, which have been regarded as genuine remains of the Druidical ages, the duties of the Bards are said to be "to reform morals and customs, to secure peace, and to celebrate the praises of all that is good and excellent. Three things," they continue, "are forbidden to a Bard ; immorality, to satirize, and to bear arms." The influence of Bardism appears to have been so extensive, that some have considered it to embrace all the knowledge of ancient times, Druidism forming its religious code, and Ovatism its arts and sciences. The *Eubages* were professors of Natural Philosophy ; and the *Vates* executed most of the higher offices of religion, as performing sacrifices, and composing hymns in honour of the gods. The Celtic nations esteemed them as sacred persons, whose verses were divinely inspired, and gave them the name of *Faids*, or

prophets. The order of *Druids*, however, appears to have been the most ordinary and familiar priesthood of Britain : they studied Theology, and performed not only the usual offices of religion, but educated youths, interpreted the laws, and acted as judges in all capital matters. It is possible that some of the austere Druids lived in celibacy and retirement, but the duties of many must have required a more secular and public way of life ; and that numbers were actually married, is shown by the descent of the priesthood, and another order of persons connected with them called *Druidesses*.

This name is generally appropriated to the wives of the Druids, one class being continually occupied with religious duties, and conversing with their husbands only once in the year ; whilst others lived with them in the ordinary manner ; and an inferior degree consisted of the female servants belonging to the temples. The most sacred and important rank, however, was composed of such as were vowed to perpetual virginity, and resided together in sequestered sisterhoods. About A. D. 45, these vestals were nine in number, their dwelling being an Island inhabited by the Corisoptii, situated in the British Sea, on the coast of the Osismii ; which place is now supposed to be the Isle de Sein, about four leagues from Finisterre on the coast of Bretagne, since it was anciently named Sena, and its inhabitants *Senanes* or *Senæ*, venerable women. Their principal characteristic was divination, but they also professed the working of miracles, prophecy, curing the most inveterate diseases, raising of storms, and converting themselves into all kinds of animals ; though they disclosed none of their predictions but to mariners,

and such as visited their island purposely to consult their oracle. They had white hair, and like the Druids, their habit on certain public occasions was a white tunic and linen cloak with clasps, a broad girdle of brass-work, their feet uncovered, and a magic staff in their hands. When Suetonius Paulinus in A. D. 61, invaded the Isle of Anglesey, which was then the residence of the Arch-Druid, his army was struck with consternation at finding a considerable number of these Druidesses, in funeral habits with disordered hair, carrying torches, and running up and down the ranks of the British army, imprecating the wrath of Heaven upon the invaders of their country. Their sacrificial duties towards captives, however, were still more ferocious; since they first rushed upon them with drawn swords, and having cut them down, dragged them to a capacious labrum, or cistern, on which stood the officiating Druidess, who plunged a long knife into each of the victims. The bodies were then opened and examined by her assistants, who, from the appearance of the entrails, pronounced their divinations, which were immediately communicated to the Army or the Council. Every year it was their custom to unroof their Temple, and, by their united labours, to re-cover it again before sun-set; during which ceremony, if any one lost or dropped her burthen, she was torn to pieces by the rest, and her limbs carried round the sacred place in Bacchanalian procession.

3. *Doctrines and Deities of Druidism.*—The professed objects of ancient Druidism, were the amendment of morals, and the preservation of tranquillity; and its Theology was derived from

several sources, the principal being a faint and corrupt tradition of that Faith which Gomer taught to his descendants, blended with something of the Pythagorean system of Transmigration, the Deities of the Celts, Greeks, and Romans, and the ceremonies of the Gymnosophists of India and the Persian Magi. Of their religious tenets, however, only a part was publicly communicated; the higher mysteries being reserved for those initiated into the Druidical Order, who were sworn to keep that system of doctrines concealed from all men. This injunction of secrecy is to be found in some verses of the Triades, supposed to be genuine reliques of the sacred hymns by which Druidism was originally taught. The knowledge referred to in these stanzas, seems to have been that of the magical power of letters, under the symbols of trees.

“ The shoots of the green-topped birch;
Will draw my foot out of a snare;
Reveal not the secret to a youth.
The shoots of the kindly oak,
Will draw my foot out of a chain;
Reveal not the secret to a maid.
The shoots of the leafy oak,
Will draw my foot out of prison;
Trust not the secret to thy voice.”

It has been supposed that the principal secret of Druidism was the great doctrine of one God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, which was in reality retained by them long after the commencement of their idolatries: and it is also one of those tenets which the Brachmans of India—who are often assimilated to the British Druids—vow to keep sacred. Cæsar states only, that the

Druids taught many things concerning the power and prerogatives of the immortal Gods ; but it has also been believed that they recounted to their disciples a great part of the Mosaical history of the creation of the world, the formation and fall of man, the revolt and expulsion of the angels, the deluge, and the final destruction of the universe by fire. Their principal public doctrine appears to have been the Immortality of the Soul, which was taught to the common people to excite that bravery and contempt of death evinced by all the ancient nations ; and the Triad containing it bids them remember

“ To act bravely in war,
That souls are immortal,
And there is another life after death. ”

But even this divine principle is frequently viewed only as a system of Transmigration ; though it has also been asserted, that such a change with the Druids related solely to other human bodies of the same sex, whence the arms, &c. which were valued in life were also deposited in the tomb. It has likewise been imagined, that their doctrine of immortality was represented under the metaphor of the soul passing into another body, only as being more easily comprehended ; and that the Druids themselves held the belief of a distinct future state, in a kind of Elysian fields, called *Flath-Innis*, or the Island of the Brave and Virtuous, to which the soul immediately ascended ; and in a place of darkness, named *Ifurin*, or the Isle of the Cold Land, infested with hurtful animals, where serpents hissed and stung, lions roared, and wolves devoured. The Druids and their followers, also, both in Gaul and Britain, exemplified their assur-

ance of a future existence, by going fearlessly to battle to encourage the armies ; leaving the settlement of their accounts until they met in another world ; casting letters on the funeral piles of their friends, to be read in the next life ; burying the accounts of the departed, and lending money to be repaid there ; and by voluntarily embracing death at the immolation of some esteemed person, to enjoy their society in an eternal state. The writings of the Bards contain their dark and uncertain notions of moral virtue, and the retributions of a future existence. Man is placed, according to their doctrine, in the circle of courses, good and evil being set before him for his selection ; and upon his making choice of the former, Death transmits him from the earth into the Circle of Felicity. If, however, he become vicious, Death returns him into the Circle of Courses, wherein he is made to do penance in the body of an animal, and then permitted to reassume his human form. The length and repetition of this probation, is determined by the vice or virtue of the individual ; but after a certain number of transmigrations, his offences were supposed to be expiated, his passions subdued, and his spirit dismissed to the Circle of Felicity. Such is a summary of the complex Theological Triades ; and only one more of the Druidical doctrines deserves to be mentioned, which has been preserved in its original form by Diogenes Laertius : it simply commands,

“ To worship the Gods,
To do no evil,
And to exercise fortitude.”

The principles of this Theological system having increased these hymns to about 20,000 verses,

their study frequently occupied 20 years ; and they were preserved only in the memories of the Druids and their disciples, since it was held unlawful to commit them to writing. When they were taught to the nation, they were delivered from little eminences, of which many are yet remaining, though their signification was never given, excepting with the greatest reserve ; but the Druidical students were instructed in the most private manner, in caverns or recesses of thick forests, that their lessons might not be overheard. Even after the establishment of Christianity, something of this plan of instruction was still followed ; since a collection of its doctrines was formed in the Druid measure, adapted for Bardic recitation, and entitled the Triades of Paul.

The purer parts of the Druidical Theology, are considerably more ancient than the introduction of those numerous false deities with which it was corrupted in its late ages ; since some of its professors interdicted the worship of idols, or any other form intended to represent the Godhead. These were probably the followers of the first Druids, and those who fixed upon the Sun, as the great reviver of Nature, and the chief emblem of Him who is the life of all things. The later Druids were probably those who united the most conspicuous parts of an animal in an image, to express the several perfections of the Deity, since it was contrary to the principles of the Celtic religion to represent Gods in the human form. Such were probably the effigies alluded to by Gildas, when he notices " the monstrous idols of our country, almost surpassing in number the very devilish devices of Egypt, of the which we behold as yet some,

both within and without the walls of their forsaken temples, now mouldering away, with deformed portraitures, and terrible countenances, after the accustomed manner.' It has been argued that idolatry was not introduced in Britain until after the invasion of the Romans; but subsequent to that event, the British Deities were principally the same as those of Rome and Greece, adored under Celtic names. The Supreme Being was worshipped under the form of an oak, and called Hæsus, or Mighty. In their representation of this Divinity, the Druids, with the consent of the whole order and neighbourhood, fixed upon the most beautiful tree they could discover, and having cut off its side branches, they joined two of them to the highest part of the trunk, so that they extended like the arms of a man. Near this transverse piece was inscribed the word Thau, for the name of God; whilst upon the right arm was written Hæsus, on the left Belenus, and, on the centre of the trunk, Tharanis. Towards the decline of Druidism, however, when a belief in the unity of God was lost in Polytheism, Hæsus is sometimes said to have been identified with Mars, who presided over wars and armies, though it is also believed that he was adored under another name, in the form of a naked sword. To him were presented all the spoils of battle; and if, says Cæsar, "they prove victorious, they offer up all the cattle taken, and set apart the rest of the plunder in a place appointed for that purpose: and it is common in many provinces to see these monuments of offerings piled up in consecrated places. Nay, it rarely happens that any one shows so great a disregard of religion, as either to conceal the plun-

der, or pillage the public oblations ; and the severest punishments are inflicted upon such offenders." The divine attribute of universal pater-nity, furnished another Druidical Deity, adored under the name of Teutates, composed of the British words Deu-Tatt, or God the Father. He was at length transformed into the Sovereign of the infernal world, and considered as Dis, or Pluto, with the Greeks and Romans ; though some suppose him to have been adored as Mercury. Nor did the Britons omit to worship the Heavenly bodies, since they had many temples erected to the Sun, which was known under the names of Bel, Belinus, Belatucardos, Apollo, Grannius, &c., expressive of its properties. The adorations paid to the Moon, appear to have been equally great ; and the temples dedicated to it were generally near and similar to the former. With these principal splendours of the skies, the Britons also worshipped the Thunder, under the name of Taranis, but a great number of the Gods of Great Britain were deifications of men, who had been victorious princes, wise legislators, or inventors of useful arts. They were, in general, the very same as those adored by the Greeks and Romans, and it is even probable that they were of greater antiquity in Gaul and Britain ; since they were Celtes by birth, princes of Celtic tribes, and were originally known by names significant in the Celtic language. Added to which, the Greeks and Romans discovered a great propensity to adopt the Deities of other nations, whilst the more barbarous people were tenacious of the faith and customs of their ancestors. One of the greatest of

these Demi-Gods was Saturn, the first of the Titan race, whose name signifies Martial, or Warlike. The original name of Jupiter is *Jow*, a Celtic word, meaning Young, because he was the youngest son of Saturn, whom he dethroned; whilst his elder brothers Neptune and Pluto, acted only as subordinate princes in his empire. The Romans afterwards extended his name by the addition of *Pater*, Father. Mercury was adored in Britain under the form of a cube, and Cæsar calls him "the chief Deity with the Gauls, of whom they have many images, accounting him the inventor of all arts, their guide and conductor in their journies, and the patron of merchandise and gain." He was the favourite son of Jupiter by Maia, and received from his father the government of the West of Europe, where he procured his Celtic name, composed of the words *Merc*, merchandise, and *Wr*, a man. There were also many other imaginary Deities, anciently adored in Britain, and of female Divinities; these were Andraste, supposed to have been Venus or Diana; Onvana, Minerva, Ceres, Proserpine, &c. It has also been believed, that the British worshipped the Serpent and the Bull; and that there was scarcely a river, lake, mountain, or wood, which was not supposed to have some genii residing within it, in honour of whom treasures were presented, and gold, food, and garments, cast into the waters.

4. *Sacred places of Druidism.*—When Tacitus is describing the manners of the Germans, he states that it was a feature of their religion to consider it unlawful to enclose their Gods within walls, as detracting from the sublimity of their conceptions concerning them. "Hence," he continues, "they

consecrated to their Divinities certain woods and groves ; and that secret power which they call emphatically by the name of God, they considered that the mental eye alone should behold in reverential silence." It is possible, however, that the absence of temples actually arose rather from the want of architectural skill ; whilst the attachment to oaken groves was common to the Priests of many nations, and may be traced even to the Hebrew Patriarchs, with whose descendants it degenerated into absolute idolatry. These sylvan solitudes, however, were originally supposed to announce the invisible presence of the Deity ; and the vast extent of the ancient forests of Europe, seems to furnish a plausible reason for their being adopted as places of divine worship. It is possible that the last traces of British Druidical groves occurred in the middle ages ; since the only fragments of them are to be found in history ; though several stones and erections are yet remaining, which may have been anciently cinctured by forests. From these relics, then, it is presumed that the groves were remarkably thick, enclosing a spacious circular area, situate on an eminence, and open at the top. It was surrounded by several very close rows of oaks, was probably watered by a dark and sacred stream, and perhaps, was farther protected by a mound and fosse within ; by which, it is supposed, that such hills as are the sites of sacred groves may still be distinguished. Within the area stood a single, and sometimes a double line of large stones erected perpendicularly, for persons of different ranks to stand in, which were occasionally crossed by a line of horizontal stones forming a circle above. Within the area

were several erections of rude stones, set in different forms and situations, supposed to have been dedicated to particular Deities, and the enclosure also contained the Druidical Altar, being sometimes of turf or a large flat rock for receiving an extensive burnt-offering, and sometimes only a pile of stones raised in the centre of the area. Another part of the Druidical groves is supposed to have been appropriated as a place for holding National Councils and Courts of Judicature; selected possibly on account of the sanctity which the spot had acquired from being dedicated to religion. These places also consisted only of circles of hewn stones, sometimes with one or more of them particularly distinguished for the Prince, Judge, or Officers of the Court.

5. *Religious Rites and Ceremonies of Druidism.*—The most remarkable features of these rites were the *Deasuil*, Gathering the Mistletoe, the Sacred Fires, and Human Sacrifices: though if it were possible to prove that Britain were the Hyperborean Island described by Diodorus, it would follow that a principal part of the Druidical religion consisted in singing of hymns to the Sun. The ceremony of the *Deasuil* had also a reference to the worship of the same Deity, being composed of the Celtic words *Deas*, the South, or right hand, and *Sol* the Sun, or as others state *Suil*, a way; and it usually commenced and concluded the Druidical service. It consisted in pacing thrice round an earthen walk which externally encompassed the Temple, and which is yet visible at Stonehenge. The route imitated the course of the Sun, being from the east southward to the west; and a contrary progress was called *Cartua-*

Suil, probably from *Car*, a turn, and *Tuathal*, the left hand, which constituted a most bitter imprecation. This custom, as a religious rite, is of very great antiquity and most extensive use ; and it has been supposed to be an imitation of the Jewish ceremony for blessing the Altar of burnt-offering, or of the march of the Israelites round the walls of Jericho. The benediction of the Deasuil was long used in Ireland, Wales, and the Scottish Highlands ; and even at present it is said to be not entirely extinct.

Whilst it may be considered as an established fact that the Britons divided their time into weeks of seven days each, it has also been asserted that the Druids appropriated one to religious services ; but their most eminent epochs for computation were from the sixth day of the moon, and the 10th of March, or commencement of the year, on which was performed the famous ceremony of cutting the Mistletoe. The former period was selected because the moon has arrived at a maturity of strength, though not to half its size ; it was called by a name signifying the curer of all ills, and hence their ages of thirty years had their beginning. As the Druids esteemed nothing so sacred as the oak, they believed every thing growing upon it to be sacred, and an evident proof that God had selected it above all others ; and hence the Mistletoe being rarely found, whenever it was discovered they went to gather it with great respect and ceremony. Beneath the oak where it grew were made preparations for a banquet and sacrifices ; and for the first time, two white bulls were tied by the horns. Then one of the Druids, cloth-

ed in white, mounted the tree, and cut off the Mistletoe with a golden sickle, receiving it into a white *sagum* or cloak laid over his hand. The sacrifices were next commenced, and prayers were offered to God to send a blessing upon his own gift; whilst the plant was supposed to bestow fertility on man and beast, and to be a specific against all sorts of poisons.

But besides the sixth day of the Moon, the New and Full changes of the same planet were also considered by the Druids as sacred seasons, of which several reliques are yet to be found. There were two festivals celebrated with Sacred Fires, the principal being on the First of May, and dedicated to Belinus, or the Sun; whence in Scotland and Ireland that day still retains the name of *Beltane*, or Bel's Fire. On this day and the preceding even, great fires were kindled in all-sacred places; and especially two were lighted in every village throughout Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and the Isles, one being on the top of the cairn, and another on the ground adjoining, between which a procession was made of the men and animals intended for sacrifice. Similar fires were also kindled on the eve of the First of November, to which all the people were obliged to resort to re-light their own private fires, which had been extinguished on the day before. At this festival, also, the nation acknowledged and supplicated the influence of Heaven upon the harvest; and the yearly contributions were paid to the ministers of religion.

The ordinary Druidical assemblies were attended both by males and females, and it is said that they cut in pieces such as arrived at them last; whilst so extremely rigid was their observation of

silence, that such as were found talking during these rites, were thrice admonished, then exposed by a large piece being cut from their robes, and ultimately proceeded against with the greatest rigour. To be interdicted from coming to the public sacrifices was the greatest penalty known to the Gauls; because, says Cæsar, "such as are under this prohibition are considered as impious and wicked: all men shun them and decline their conversation and fellowship, lest they should suffer from the contagion of their misfortunes. They can neither have recourse to the law for justice, nor are capable of any public office." Before the sacred rites began, it was usual to wash away all impurities by sprinkling and carrying fire, from the priests, the assembly, the victims, and the sacrificial instruments; and when the priest had prayed, the victim was offered, being first ritually devoted, with the salted meal, wine, and frankincense, which formed part of the offering. Then followed the libation, and, when the victim was dead, the blood was poured out, and the part to be burned placed upon the fire altar. The most inhuman features of Druidism were to be found in these sacrifices; since the priest not only sacrificed animals, and especially white bulls, but, believing that nothing but the life of man can atone for the life of man, they also offered human beings, preferring, however, criminals, as being most acceptable to the Gods; though when these were wanting, the innocent were often made to suffer, as captives, strangers, and even their very disciples. Sometimes these victims were destroyed by arrows, and crucified in the sacred groves; and at others they were despatched in a more extensive

way of slaughter, by an immense statue of straw, or twisted osiers, which was filled entirely with wood, cattle, and human beings, which were indiscriminately consumed in one entire burnt-offering. The victims are said to have been brought into the temples naked, and stained with the juice of herbs; and such sacrifices were even publicly established, though on extraordinary occasions they were sometimes anticipated for the purpose of Divination. "They take a man," says Diodorus Siculus, "who is to be sacrificed, and kill him with one stroke of a sword above the diaphragm; and by observing the posture in which he falls, his different convulsions, and the direction in which the blood flows from his body, they form their predictions, according to certain rules which have been left them by their ancestors." The fragments of the sacrifice, or feast, as some have supposed it, were consumed by the last fire upon the altar; which was then consecrated anew by strewing it with oak leaves. It is only candid to state, however, that these human sacrifices have not only been denied, but it has been supposed that they were seldom even of the animal kind, and then only of the more hurtful, such as the boar. The Gaelic language is said to contain no traces of such ceremonies; and the word expressive of sacrifice actually means "the offering of the Cake."

6. *Druidical Dresses and Ornaments.*—The Druids rose to their principal dignity through six different gradations, distinguished by the costume. The first, or plainest Priest's habit was without any decoration, and differed from that of the Laity only by its shape, colour, and cassock-girdle;

whilst the second rank wore a sash, passing from the right shoulder across the body to the lower edge of the garment. The third degree had a broad piece of stuff like a scarf, reaching round the neck and as low as the clothes ; it was crossed with horizontal stripes, and hung loose without any girdle, which was probably also the dress of the fourth order, since that was distinguished only by rank. The fifth class of Druids wore a large sash suspended over the right shoulder across the body, the back and front being united. The Archdruids constituted the sixth order, and appear to have been completely covered by a long mantle and flowing robes, wearing an oaken crown and carrying a sceptre ; though the wreath is said to have been worn by all the Druids at all religious ceremonies, when their garments were always white. The younger Druids were without beards, and were decorated with collars, bracelets, and armlets of brass ; but the elders wore their hair very long, and the superior ones had their ornaments of gold.

7. *Decline and Extirpation of Druidism.*—

The Roman invasion of Britain seems to have given the first blow to the Druidical Faith, since Augustus Cæsar forbade the Roman citizens to practise any of its rites ; Tiberius banished them from Rome, and the adjoining provinces ; and in the reign of Claudius, about A. D. 45, he is said to have utterly destroyed the Druids in Gaul. About the same time, also, they began to be persecuted in the Roman province recently established in the south-east parts of Britain ; whence many of them retired to the Isle of Anglesey. As this place, however, seemed to afford an asylum to

those who were disaffected to the Romans, it was subdued in A. D. 61, by Suetonius Paulinus, Governor of Britain under Nero. After having defeated those who attempted to defend it, he cut down the sacred groves, destroyed the temples, overthrew the altars, and burned many of the Druids in the very fires which they had kindled for sacrificing their expected Roman prisoners. So many of this order, then, were thus destroyed, as well as in the unsuccessful revolt under Boadicea, which happened immediately after, that they never subsequently became considerable in South Britain. It has been supposed, however, that their rites existed in this nation until King Lucius embraced Christianity in A. D. 177; and in the famous groves of Mona until Crathilintus, King of Scotland, about a century afterwards, expelled Druidism and established a Bishop in the Island. Such of the Druids, however, as would not comply with the Roman religion and government, fled into the smaller British Islands, Caledonia, and Hibernia; where they remained in full possession of their ancient power until St Patrick commenced its conversion in A. D. 432, when they are said to have disputed with him in the presence of King Leogarius. It has also been supposed that the last of the Druids retired to the Isle of Iona, where they became the progenitors of the Culdees; though they are generally considered to have been a society of early Christians.

Such were the ancient British Druids, of whom a more extended account will be found in the following works, whence the foregoing pages have been principally compiled. *Ancient Universal History*, Vol. xviii. Lond. 1748, Book iv. chapter

xxv. *Observations on the Antiquities, Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall*, by the Rev. Wm. Borlase, Lond. 1754, fol. Book ii. *The History of Great Britain*, by Dr Robert Henry, Vol. i. Lond. 1771, 4to, Book i. chap. ii. sect. i. *A History of the Druids*, by John Toland, edited by R. Huddleston, Montrose, 1804, 8vo. *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, by the Rev. T. D. Fosbroke, Lond. 1825, 4to, Vol. ii. chap. xv. sect. i. The Druidical doctrines and Triades will be found treated of in *Galic Antiquities*, by the Rev. John Smith, Edin. 1780, 4to, Williams's *Poems*, and Davies's *Celtic Researches*, already referred to. The subject of Druidical Temples and Remains, will be found illustrated in Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, Book iii., *Mona Antiqua*, by Henry Rowlands, Dubl. 1723, 4to, *Ancient Wiltshire*, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Lond. 1812-21, fol., and in a modern work, with beautiful lithographic engravings, entitled, *The Celtic Druids*, by Godfrey Higgins, F.S.A. Lond. 1827, 4to.

Section II. TEUTONIC HEATHENISM IN BRITAIN.

The incursions and successes of the Saxons in the fifth and sixth centuries, were not more fatal to the liberties of the Britons, than they were to the Christian faith, which was slowly beginning to enlighten their land. The nation which brought them back to Paganism, came from the north-western part of Germany, contiguous to Denmark, whence it is supposed that its religion was nearly that of the Heathen Danes. When the Saxons

came into Britain, however, they also abandoned the ancient simplicity of their faith for a more showy idolatry ; their temples were surrounded by enclosures, which were profaned if lances were thrown into them, and the altar was called *Wigbed*, the table, or bed, of the Idol.

As the Priests of this superstition were called *Drottes*, it has been supposed that they had some analogy with the Celtic Druids, though Cæsar positively affirms that the Germans had no such persons. It is related, that, in a celebrated temple of Odin, there were twelve superior *Drottes*, who presided over all ecclesiastical affairs, and governed the others ; and one was called the Chief Priest of Northumberland. Their office was confined to certain families, and passed in a lineal descent ; but they appear to have been invested with far less wealth and power than the Druids. They were exempted from war, prohibited from appearing in arms, and even from mounting a horse ; but a speech of the Chief Priest, addressed to King Edwyn, preserved by Bede, shows how little benefit he had derived from his office. " There is not one of your subjects," said he, " who hath served the Gods with so much devotion as I have done ; and yet there are many of them who have received more ample rewards and greater honours, and have prospered much better in all their affairs." The Teutonic Pagans had also an order of Priestesses, who served in the temple of their female deities ; and Friga, their chief goddess, was attended by kings' daughters and the highest ranks of ladies. Some of these consecrated females, too, were consulted as infallible oracles, and almost regarded as Divinities.

The mythological system and doctrines of the older Northern nations, are preserved in those ancient and singular works called the *Edda*, of which there are two books. The first was compiled by Sœmund Sigfusson, called the Learned, who was born in Ireland about the year 1057, from ancient sacred poems and fables, existing when Paganism was abolished. The second *Edda* was chiefly collected by the famous Snorro Sturleson, about 120 years after. Both of these works are in dialogue and narrative, and their principal subject is the religion and morality of Odin; but, of the former, only three pieces are known to be extant. A more particular account of them, with many interesting specimens translated into English, will be found in Vol. ii. of Bishop Percy's *Northern Antiquities*, already referred to. The doctrines contained in these writings, have many pure and rational principles, corrupted and obscured by extravagant fables. The ancient Northern nations held the belief of one God, "the Author," says the *Edda*, "of every thing that existeth; the Eternal, the Ancient, the Living and Awful Being; the Searcher into concealed things; the Being that never changeth; who liveth and governeth during the ages, directeth every thing which is high, and every thing which is low. He lives for ever," continues the same code of Theology, in a passage including much of the speculative doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon Paganism, "He governs all his kingdoms, both the small parts and the great: He made Heaven and the Earth, and the Air; He made Man, and gave him a spirit, which shall live even after the body shall have vanished. Then the just and

well-deserving shall dwell with him in a place called *Gimle*; but bad men shall go to *Hela*." The places of future existence, are described in the Edda as being in the happy state, a land where heroes spent their days in martial sports, and their nights in feasting on the inexhaustible flesh of the Boar Scrimner, and drinking beer and mead from the skulls of the enemies whom they had slain; the cups being presented to them by virgins of exceeding beauty. Such was the the *Valhalla*; the *Nifleheim*, or house of the Wicked, was the dwelling of Hela, or Death, whose looks struck terror into all beholders, whose palace was Anguish, her table Famine, her waiters Expectation and Delay, the threshold of her door Precipice, and her bed Leanness. Into the former of these regions were to be admitted all brave and good men, and into the latter all cowards and evil ones, to reside to the end of the world; when the heavens, the earth, and even the Gods themselves, were to be consumed by fire. After this general conflagration, a new, and more glorious world was to arise out of its ashes; when the virtuous were to be received into Gimle, a palace of shining gold; and the vicious were to be confined in *Nas-trande*, a place built of the bodies of serpents, and far more dismal than Nifleheim.

The principal of the Northern Deities was Odin, or Woden, which signifies All-Father, and is believed originally to have been the name of the true God in the earliest colonies which came from the East. This name, however, as well as the honours paid to it, was assumed by the leader of a new army of adventurers, which overran the North

of Europe, and founded in it an extensive empire. His success in war, and civilization of countries, caused him to be regarded after his death as presiding over arms and arts; temples were erected to him, and the fourth day of each week was called Woden's day, and consecrated to his name. Friga, his wife, the Goddess of Pleasure, was next revered by the nations of the North, which dedicated Friday to her honour; and Thor, the eldest and bravest of their sons, followed in estimation, and was commemorated by the fifth day of the week, Thursday. It was supposed that he reigned over the regions of air, which composed his palace, consisting of 540 halls; and that he directed the thunder, lightning, winds, and storms. To him, therefore, were prayers addressed on all points regarding the weather. The other days of the week, also, as they are at present known, were likewise consecrated to the Deities of Saxon paganism. Thus the sun was a female Divinity, from whom the first was called *Sunnan-dæg*; the moon, as a male Deity, ruled over *Monnan-dæg*; Tiw, a personage of whom nothing is known, gave name to Tuesday; and Saturday was devoted to Seterne. In addition to these, Balder, the second son of Odin and Friga, was God of Light; Niord, of the waters; Tyr, of champions; Brage, of orators and poets; and Heimdal was door-keeper to the Gods and guardian of the Rainbow. In female Divinities, the Saxons attributed some peculiar property to each of the eleven daughters of Odin and Friga; as Eira, was Goddess of Medicine; Gefi-one, of virginity; Fulla, of dress; Freya, of true love; Lofna, of reconciliation; Vara, of vows, &c. The Anglo-Saxons also had Rheda, to whom they

sacrificed in March, which was thence entitled *Rhed-Monath* ; and in April, they held the feast of Eostre, who is still perpetuated in the modern term of Easter. Another *Gydena*, or Goddess of the Pagan Saxons, was Herthas, or Mother Earth ; who was supposed to dwell in a vehicle covered with a garment, which only a priest might touch, standing in a grove in an island of the sea. When this Divinity was brought from her temple, joy, festivity, and hospitality were universal ; wars and weapons being exchanged for tranquillity. She was drawn thence by cows ; and, on returning to the island, was washed with the carriage and covering in a secret lake, wherein the slaves who ministered were drowned.

Of other supernatural beings belonging to the Saxon paganism, the principal were Loke Sau, enemy both to Gods and men ; Erodus, supposed to be the same as Saturn ; the famous Deity Irminsula ; Faul, an evil spirit ; a female power called an Elf ; and the Lady Hera, who was believed to fly in the air the week after Yule, when plenty was thought to follow her visitations. The Anglo-Saxons had also Flynt, a figure of Death ; Zernebogus, or the black, malevolent, and ill-omened Deity ; Occhus Bochus, a magician and Demon ; and Neccus, a malignant spirit frequenting the waters ; whence are probably derived the modern expressions of hocus-pocus and Old Nick.

In their religious ceremonies, the Anglo-Saxons were not without the custom of human sacrifices, since they sometimes devoted a tenth of their prisoners to death by lot ; as the Scythians, their presumed ancestors, offered every hundredth man to Mars. But in the North, this barbarous supersti-

tion prevailed to a still more dreadful degree: since it is recorded that in Zealand, an offering was made of 99 persons, and as many horses, dogs, and cocks. A King of Sweden sacrificed nine of his sons to Odin for an extension of life; and in a national famine, the victim has sometimes been a Sovereign. Indeed, the great characteristic of Saxon paganism, as well as that of all the Teutonic nations, was ferocity. "It condemned," says Mr Turner, "the faithless and the perjured; but it represented the Supreme Deity, as the father of combats and slaughter, because they were his favourite children who fell in the field of battle."

September, called by the Saxons *Halg-Monath*, was the principal season of their religious ceremonies; but they also named February *Sol-Monath*, from an offering of cakes to their Deities. Yule, answering to the present Christmas, was a time of sacred festivity; and was the commencement of the year, whence it was called Mothir-Night. The Pagan Saxons were addicted to magic, and one of their Kings met some Christian Missionaries in the open air, believing that spells had greater power in a house. Nor were they less attached to Omens, supposing that the cries and flight of birds were expressive of the Divine Will, and that horses when they neighed were inspired. Important deliberations were decided by lot, consisting of a branch of a fruit-tree cut into pieces, marked and scattered on a white vest. The Priest, if it were a public council, or the father, if it were a private one, prayed, looked toward the heavens, and drawing each thrice, interpreted according to

its inscription ; and if it were adverse, the matter was deferred. Their usual battle-omen was a duel between a captive of the opposing nation and a Saxon, by which victory or defeat was supposed to be foretold.

The temples of the Danes and Saxons were originally only sacred groves and circles of rude stone ; but when they began to erect edifices in imitation of other countries, there was a chapel or holy place belonging to each, containing the idol, set upon a kind of altar, before which stood another plated with iron for the holy fire, which burned continually ; and near it was a vase for receiving the blood of the victims, with a brush for sprinkling it upon the people.

In connecting this view of British Paganism with the introduction of Christianity, it should be remarked, that when the Saxons came into Britain, it was struggling between departing Druidism and the Faith of Christ which was slowly advancing ; and, as yet, had not begun to improve the characters either of the nation or its Priests. It was this weakness which caused the Northmen still to retain their wild idolatry, notwithstanding the many edicts issued against it by Emperors and Councils in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries ; in the latter of which, Gregory exhorted the Saxons to abandon their idols of gold, silver, brass, stone, &c. This revival of Paganism in England was not wholly exterminated even in the 11th century ; since Canute in one of his Laws says, " We strictly discharge and forbid all our subjects to worship the Gods of the Gentiles ; that is to say, the Sun, Moon, Fires, Rivers, Fountains, Hills, or Trees, and Woods of any kind.

In concluding this subject, it remains only to refer the reader for additional particulars to Dr Henry's *History of Great Britain*, Book II. Chap. ii. Sect. 1. ; Bishop Percy's translation of M. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, already cited ; and Mr Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. Appendix to Book II. Chap. iii.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN.

THE precise period when the light of Christianity first dawned upon Britain, and the ministers by whom it was first preached, are alike points of imperfect and disputed information. As they constitute, however, the leading features of the present chapter, it will be probably the best way of communicating what is known on these subjects, to treat of them in the same order.

1. *Time of the Introduction of Christianity.*—Of this Island whilst it was under the Roman sway, Gildas declares that he could find no national record which treated of its Civil and Ecclesiastical affairs; and therefore concludes, that they must either have been destroyed by the enemies of Britain, or were carried into foreign countries by some of its exiled inhabitants. None of the ancient authors, however, which have since been discovered, attempt to fix the time when the Gospel was brought hither, though, from the concurrent testimony of others, it is believed to have been before the end, and perhaps even the middle of the first century, between A. D. 43, and A. D. 61. Tertullian, in his book against the Jews which was written A. D. 209, declares that those parts

of Britain into which the Roman arms had never penetrated, had become subject to Christ ; whereby it is conjectured, that Christianity had then been for some time known in the Roman provinces in the south. Eusebius, a Bishop of Cæsarea, who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century, in asserting the truth of the Gospel, from the success of some of its Apostolical preachers in remote and distant countries, names the British Islands in the number : and Theodoret, a Father of the Church who flourished in the fifth century, states that fishermen, tent-makers, and publicans, had persuaded many nations to embrace the faith of Christ, in the catalogue of which he mentions the Britons. Gildas, himself, also, when speaking of the revolt and defence of the Britons under Boadicea, A. D. 61, appears to fix the introduction of revealed religion to about the same period. Another argument in favour of this time is, that a Roman Province having been established in the south-east parts of Britain in A. D. 43, Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the first Governor, was accused of having embraced a strange and foreign superstition ; for which she was tried, and having been acquitted of any thing immoral, ever after led a gloomy and melancholy life. She is supposed to have been a Christian, and one of the first who brought the faith to Britain. It has also been thought that Claudia, mentioned with Pudens in 2. Timothy, iv. 21. (A. D. 66.) was the same British lady celebrated by Martial for her beauty and virtue. See *Epiq.* book. iv. 13, xi. 54.

2. *First Preachers of Christianity in Britain.*
—St James, St Simon Zelotes, St Peter, St Paul.

Aristobulus, and Joseph of Arimathea, have all been named as the means of converting the Britons, and perhaps all with equal improbability. The first of these has many partisans, who assert that he preached the Gospel in Spain, Britain, and other countries of the West; but it is almost impossible that this can be true, since St Luke, in Acts xii. 1, 2, relates that he was slain by Herod, in A. D. 44. The second is also stated to have preached in the West, and particularly in Britain, where he was martyred and buried; but the labours of this Apostle are usually believed to have been the East Indies. The principal advocate for St Peter is Simon Metaphrastes, who died A. D. 976, and is therefore not worthy of any very considerable credit; but he asserts, that this Apostle passed 23 years in Britain, where, having converted many nations, established several Churches, and ordained Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, he returned to Rome in A. D. 65. As it is known, however, that he was particularly sent to those of the circumcision (Galatians, ii. 7, 8), it is supposed, that he rather confined himself to the countries of the Jews. In favour of St Paul's claim, are the testimony of ancient authors, his zeal for the Gospel, and the great probability that he passed the latter years of his life—the employment of which is unrecorded—in the western provinces of Rome, of which Britain was one. This, therefore, renders it probable, that it was he who brought the Gospel to England, if, indeed, it were any of the Apostles. The wild and legendary case made out for Aristobulus, states, that he was the same with Zebedee, the father of Saints John and James, brother to Barnabas, and father-in-law to Andrew

and Peter ; the latter of whom ordained him a Bishop, and sent him to preach the Gospel in Britain, where he was martyred. His name, however, occurs only in St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, xvi. 10, (A. D. 60.)

But the most singular and popular history of the establishment of Christianity in this Island, is that devised by the Monks of Glastonbury, which attribute it to Joseph of Arimathea, who is said to have been sent hither by St Philip, with a band of his disciples, arriving in A. D. 68. Though they preached with great zeal, they could not induce any of the Britons to forsake their ancient superstition ; but the King being informed, that they had come from far, and behaved modestly, appointed them a residence in an Island called Inis-witrin, on the borders of his kingdom ; to which two other Pagan princes afterwards added 12 hides of land more. In this wilderness, the Angel Gabriel admonished them to build a Church to the honour of the Blessed Virgin ; and they accordingly constructed the first Christian Church at Glastonbury. It consisted, however, only of a small oratory, having walls of barked alders, or wicker-wands twisted together, and its roof thatched with straw or rushes. It was 60 feet long, and 26 feet broad ; the door reached to the eaves of the roof ; there was a window over the altar in the east, and it was surrounded by a churchyard capacious enough to hold 1000 graves. An imaginary representation of this church has been engraved by Sammes and Hearne ; but another ancient Christian church, erected at Greensted in Essex, by the Saxons, about the eleventh century,

partook of nearly the same architectural character. The walls consisted of the upright trunks of large oaks placed close together, roughly hewn on both sides, let into a sill beneath and a plate above, where they were fastened by wooden nails. The original fabric was 29 feet 9 inches long, 14 feet wide, and 5 feet 6 inches high on the sides supporting the ancient roof.

In closing, however, these notices of the early preachers of the Gospel in Britain, it should be remarked, that there is also an improbable conjecture, that they first came from the East, and were perhaps sent by St Polycarp, who was martyred A. D. 170. The argument upon which this rests is, that the English and Oriental Churches keep Easter at the same period ; but, in the fourth century, the Church of Britain appears to have agreed with that of Rome.

- Of the early British converts to Christianity, none appear to have excited more interest at one period, or discussion at another, than the Sovereign called Lucius, or Lever-Maur, the Great Light, whose story by Geoffrey of Monmouth has frequently been a subject of ridicule. He states, that Lucius, being convinced of the excellence of Christianity from the miracles which its followers had wrought in several nations, sent over to Pope Eleutherius, or Evaristus, to be instructed in its faith. Upon this, Fagan and Dervan, two religious men, were despatched to Britain, where they baptized Lucius and great numbers beside, changed the Pagan temples into Christian churches, and converted their Priests into Archbishops and Bishops. It is certainly now wholly impossible to separate the truth and the fiction of this narrative ;

but it probably may be correct, that Lucius was some British Prince in favour with the Romans, who was yet permitted to retain some authority, and to embrace and promote the Christian faith with his friends and followers; the messengers he sent to Rome having been there instructed and ordained. Lucius is said to have been converted in A. D. 154, and to have died two years after; and in the third century it is believed that the British Christians were numerous, and that a regular hierarchy had been established in the Church.

Some time near the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century, the Christians in the Roman Province of Britain were persecuted for their religion, and St Alban, a native of Verulamium, was the first British martyr in that city, which now bears his name, about A. D. 286. At the same time, too, Aaron and Julius, two citizens of Caerleon, and several other persons of both sexes, were put to death in different places. When Constantius Chlorus was declared Emperor, A. D. 305, he stopped the persecution of the Christians; and the accession of his son, Constantine the Great, in the year following, brought deliverance, and even triumph, to the Church. Then, says Gildas, the British Christians came out of the lurking-places to which they had retired, rebuilt their ruined churches, and kept their sacred solemnities with pure and joyful hearts.

They had scarcely emerged from this persecution, when the controversy between Arius, a priest of Alexandria, and Alexander, Bishop of that city, concerning the Divinity of Christ, broke out in A. D. 317; the same and heresy of which soon

spread to Britain, where Gildas asserts it made an alarming progress, though Saints Jerome and Chrysostom frequently speak in their writings of the constancy of the British Church. In some degree, therefore, this establishment continued to flourish until the Romans left Britain, in A. D. 422; when the nation became exposed to the plundering incursions of the Scots and Picts, and the Church was divided by the heresies of Pelagius, a British monk, whose real name was Morgan. From his being a native of this country, his doctrines met with more advocates and a better reception; the principal of them being, that Adam was naturally mortal; that his sin has not affected his posterity; and, that even without the grace of God, man may become both holy and perfect. The British Clergy having vainly endeavoured to suppress these errors, sent to Gaul for assistance, and procured thence Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes; who are said to have escaped by miracle from a violent storm, raised against them on their voyage hither. After much preaching, both abroad and in the churches, whereby they filled the country with the fame of their virtue, a public disputation took place: to which the Pelagians came with great haughtiness, in rich habits, whilst the Prelates were but plainly attired, and very modest. The former commenced by long and ostentatious speeches, which, however, the Bishops answered with such a flood of Scriptural argument, reason, and learned authorities, as silenced their adversaries, and converted their hearers. Indeed, their answers were received with the loudest acclamations, and the Pelagian champions were scarcely defended from popular

lary. Having remained some time in Britain, confirming the inhabitants by argument, preaching, and, as it is asserted, by miracles, they returned into Gaul; though Germanus made a second visit entirely to root out this heresy, which had again began to spring. After this the Christian faith was long maintained here in purity, principally under the care of Dubritius, first Bishop of Llandaff, and Illutus, Archbishop of Caerleon, the disciples of Germanus, until the arrival of the Saxons in A. D. 449, who almost reduced the nation a second time to Paganism.

The principal features of this superstition having been already described, it should next be observed that the hatred of the Saxons towards the Britons, referred to in the Introduction to this volume, also extended towards their religion, and was evinced by the murder of their ecclesiastics, and the destruction of their churches. As this animosity subsided, the marriage of Ethelbert, King of Kent, with Bertha, daughter of Charebert, King of France, in A. D. 570, a Christian princess of great virtue and merit, greatly contributed to abate their aversion to the Gospel; for the free enjoyment of which a stipulation was made in the marriage-contract. For this purpose, the Queen was allowed a small church without the walls of Canterbury, where Luidhart, a French bishop, who came over with her, and other ecclesiastics, publicly performed all the rites of the Christian worship. By these means, too, many of the Anglo-Saxons, particularly of the kingdom of Kent, became solicitous of instruction in the true faith.

It was at this time, so favourable for the establishment of Christianity, that Gregory I. became

Pontiff, in A. D. 592, previously to which he had been moved with compassion for the Britons, by the sight of several elegantly-formed youths exposed for sale in the streets of Rome. When he was informed that they were Angles or English, he replied, "they are not Angles, but Angels;" adding, on learning that they were idolators, from the province of Dēira, "what pity, that such a beauteous frontispiece should have a mind so void of internal graces! They come not from Dēira, but from Dei irā, from the wrath of God. Hallelujah! the praise of the creating Deity must be sung in those regions." He could not, however, persuade the then Pope to send missionaries for their conversion, though he offered himself for their service; but when he came into power, he despatched Austin, or Augustin, a monk of St Andrew's Convent at Rome, with 40 monks into Britain. From the dangers and difficulties of the undertaking, they proceeded at first with reluctance, but were re-animated by letters from Gregory, and recommendations to the King, Queen, and several Bishops of France, whence they sailed in A. D. 596, and landed in the Isle of Thanet.

When their arrival and intentions were announced to Æthelbert, he received them in the open air, to avoid any magical spells, and stated that he could not, without more deliberation, quit the religion of his country, but as they had come so far to communicate a better, he would assign them a residence in his metropolis of Canterbury, and allow them to use their best endeavours in converting his subjects. They entered the city in solemn procession, carrying before them the picture of Christ, and a silver cross, and singing the

Litanies, which they found interested the populace. They sang, prayed, performed their religious services, and preached in a church on the eastern side of the city, erected in the Roman times, and dedicated to St Martin, which the Queen had used as her oratory. Having distinguished themselves by their prayers, fastings, and discourses, they made several converts, of whom they baptised 10,000 on Christmas day; and at length the King himself was received into the Christian church.

The form of religion now planted, was doubtlessly the system professed at Rome, but it was at the same time the best which was known there, and was most adapted to the spirit, understanding, and character of the time. It was a compound of doctrines, rites, instruction, and government, derived partly from the Scriptures, traditions, decisions, and decrees of former pontiffs and councils, and some popular customs and superstitions which had been permitted to blend themselves with it. But with all its imperfections, it was perhaps, the most useful form which the intellect of the age could give—for the Roman clergy were certainly the most enlightened part of the Western world,—or the new converts were fitted to receive.

Soon after its establishment Austin went into France, where the Archbishop of Arles consecrated him Primate of the English, a dignity then first instituted. He had already sent to Rome an account of his success, and when Gregory returned him the pall, the ensign of his dignity, he also sent him several assistants, a letter of instructions on forming the English prelacy, and several ec-

clesiastical vessels, habits, and ornaments, with the following MSS. of books. A Bible adorned with some purple and rose-coloured leaves; the Psalter of St Augustin, with the Creed, Pater-Noster, and several Latin hymns; two copies of the Gospels; a volume of legends on the sufferings of the Apostles, having a picture of Christ in silver; another volume concerning the martyrs, on the outside of which was a glory, silver-gilt, set round with beryls and crystals; and an Exposition on the Epistles and Gospels, having on the cover a large beryl surrounded by crystals. It should be observed that Gregory's scheme for the government of the Church of England was never carried into effect.

By degrees the Gospel spread itself through every Anglo-Saxon province, though its progress was frequently interrupted by civil feuds, foreign invasions, and the repeated and unadvised attempts of the English bishops, to make those of Scotland and Wales acknowledge their primacy; and to keep Easter and baptize according to the ritual of Rome. These disputes were continued even after Austin's death in A. D. 604. But whilst the connection between Rome and England occasioned the adoption of many superstitious and monastic legends, the retired churches of Wales and Scotland were established in a spirit of greater mildness and primitive simplicity.

Such then being an account of the introduction and establishment of Christianity in Britain, as its future Ecclesiastical history forms a very extensive subject, all which can be effected for it in the present work, is to give some of its leading cir-

circumstances and anecdotes, commencing with the *Church of the Anglo-Saxons*.

The Legend of *Lucius* affirms that the Pagan Flamens of Britain, were changed into three Christian Archbishops and 28 Bishops; the seats of the former being at York, London, and Caerleon upon the Usk in Glamorganshire, who were all well endowed. Giraldus Cambrensis adds to this improbable story, that in each of the five Pagan Provinces was a Metropolitan, having 12 Suffragans under him; but there is no positive notice of Bishops in Britain until the Council of Arles in Gaul, A. D. 314, when there appear the names of Eborus, Bishop of York, Restitutus, of London, and Adelfius, of Colonia Londinensium, which should probably be Lindum, or Lincoln. They appear, however, to have been in great poverty, since, at the Council of Ariminum, in A. D. 359, when the Emperor Constantius offered to maintain the Bishops of the Western Empire at the public charge, it was refused by all but the three British. In the earlier Saxon period, they seem to have been appointed by the Wittenagemote, or National Council, receiving the confirmation of their dignity from the Pope; but towards the Norman Invasion, both Bishops and Abbots derived their promotion from the King. This was objected to by Gregory VII. about the close of the eleventh century, and the Sovereign then invested them only with their temporalities, but in 1215 the Great Charter of King John confirmed to all the English Monasteries, &c. the right of electing their Prelates. The oldest metropolitan see is that of York, which is said to have been founded by King *Lucius*, about A. D. 180, but London was

considered the principal by the British Churches ; it was existing A. D. 314, and was intended by Gregory I. to have been the Metropolitan See of England.

In the Episcopal establishment of the Saxons, an Archbishop and his Bishops were the rulers of the Church, though subject to their own national, as well as to general, councils ; and, in some instances to the Wittenagemote, and, in their temporal concerns, to the King. Under their authority, the subordinate clergy possessed various powers and privileges. Athelwolf in 855 discharged his ecclesiastics from the duty of building bridges, repairing bridges, and doing military service. Monks and nuns were governed by their own superiors, assisted, and, in some measure, controlled, by Conventual Chapters ; yet not always submitting to the Pope, and claiming an independence on the Episcopal Clergy.

The chief of the religious duties of the Anglo-Saxon Clergy, was that of reading the Scriptures, both for themselves, and to have the holy books well written, that they might rightly teach the people who looked up to them. " Study Christ," says the excellent Alcuin, in a letter, " as foretold in the books of the Prophets, and as exhibited in the Gospels ; and when you find him, do not lose him ; but introduce him into the home of thy heart, and make him the ruler of thy life." Bede and Ælfred both employed themselves in making selections from the Scriptures ; and Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, declared that he translated them from the Latin into the ordinary tongue, " for the use of the simple who knew only this speech :—We have, therefore, put it not into ob-

scure words, but into simple English, that it may easier reach the heart of those who hear or read it." The moral duties of the Clergy are shown in another letter of Alcuin, translated by Mr Turner, to embrace all the virtues of the Christian profession, blended with natural courtesy and honour:

The Canons by which these Ecclesiastics were governed, forbade them to carry their private controversies to a lay-tribunal; to forsake the church to which they were consecrated; to swear, hunt, hawk, or dice; to be a covetous trader, a plunderer, or often drunk in wine-houses; and to be quarrelsome, carry arms, or go to war, or military exercise. They were directed, on the contrary, to learn their own handicraft; to preach every Sunday; to visit the sick; to baptize when required; to abolish all heathendom and witchcraft; to teach youth carefully; and to solícite, and distribute alms, singing psalms during the act, and exhorting the poor to pray for the donors. "Take care," says Archbishop Ælfric, when insisting on these duties, "that you be better and wiser in your spiritual craft than worldly men are in theirs, that you may be fit teachers of true wisdom."

An early notice of tythes paid to the Anglo-Saxon clergy, occurs about A. D. 785, at the Council of Calcuith or Cliffe, in Kent, under Offa King of Mercia, when their payment was strenuously asserted as founded on the Mosaical Law. Æthelwulf then gave, or, perhaps, confirmed, the tythes of all the lands of England to the clergy and poor laymen, by the persuasion of Swithin, Bishop of Winchester. They were conveyed by two charters, one for his own lands, and the other for those

of his nobles ; for the latter of which, the Priests were engaged to meet every Wednesday in their churches, and repeat fifty psalms and two masses for the Sovereign and his Peers. These gifts are supposed to have been the origin of Glebe-land, and an expression of charity for the Laity used in one of the charters, seems to connect the idea of a Poor's-rate with a provision for the clergy. On the payment of these dues, most of the ancient Ecclesiastics appear to have been unanimous ; and it is affirmed that for some centuries it constituted an important part of their sermons and homilies : whilst they endeavoured to make out a claim even to a tenth of the wages of labourers, the pay of soldiers,—and the presents given to courtezans.

Soon after the Anglo-Saxons had been converted to Christianity, they became desirous of spreading the knowledge of it abroad. In 692, says Mr Turner, Willibrod and eleven of his companions, went as missionaries to Helligoland and Friesland ; the former becoming Bishop of the city now called Utrecht, and the latter preaching the Gospel in Westphalia and its vicinity. In 715, Boniface went to Germany, and founded several Bishoprics ; and before his murder in Friesland in 755, with fifty of his ecclesiastical companions, he had converted upwards of 100,000 Germans. Lebuin was also another Englishman who attempted to become a missionary ; and Adalbert, son of a King of Deiri in Northumberland, in 790 went to Germany for the same purpose. Their course of instruction, as dictated by Alcuin, appears to have been equally pious and prudent. It states, that mature persons should be taught the immortality of the soul in the future life of retribution ; the

eternity of its happiness or misery; the actions for which they would be awarded; the faith of the Holy Trinity; the incarnation and passion of Christ; and the future judgment. "Thus prepared and strengthened," adds he, "the man may be baptised." In the ninth century there was an English college at Rome, which was probably instituted for supplying the nation with Missionaries; as conversions to Christianity were greatly encouraged, both at this period and the century following. Charlemagne, it is said, had converted many Saxons by violence; but so pleasing a method was used in France, and the white garment of the proselyte was so alluring, that some are said to have received baptism twelve times in one day, from different Priests, only to gain as many linen garments.

In the same century, also, Ælfred employed an adventurous Priest named Sighehn, to visit a distressed society of Christians, who lived on the south-east coast of Asia, now called Coromandel, of whom he had been informed by Abel, Patriarch of Jerusalem. The route of this missionary is unknown farther than Rome, though he reached the end of his journey, relieved his brethren, and brought back from India many curious jewels; some of which were to be seen in the 12th century at Sherborne cathedral, and others are even supposed to exist in an old crown preserved in the Tower. For this enterprise, Ælfred made Sighehn Bishop of Sherborne.

To these notices of the Saxon Missionaries, it seems proper to subjoin a few particulars concerning their translations of the Scriptures, which, it has been seen, were earnestly inculcated both

on the clergy and the people. The Anglo-Saxons possessed parts of the sacred volume in their vernacular tongue, for some centuries; but the earliest version of which there is any account, appears to be a translation of the Four Gospels, made by one Aldred, a priest, about 680. The Psalms were rendered into the common speech by Adhelm, first bishop of Sherborne, about 706, and the Evangelists by Egbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, who died in 721. A few years after, Venerable Bede translated the entire Bible; and nearly two centuries later, King Ælfred executed another version of the Psalms, either to supply the loss of Adhelm's, which is supposed to have been lost in the Danish wars, or to improve the plainness of Bede. A Saxon translation of the Pentateuch, Joshua, part of the books of Kings, Esther, and the Apocryphal histories of Judith and Maccabees, is also attributed to Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 995; and in the same century a translation of the Scriptures was executed under the patronage of Æthelstan. Upon this subject, however, the reader will find farther information in the Rev. J. Lewis's *History of the Translations of the Bible*, Lond. 1818, 8vo; the Rev. J. H. Horne's *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, Lond. 1825, 8vo, vol. ii. p. 235; and Mr Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

The numerous printed specimens of the ancient Saxon Homilies, &c. composed by Archbishop Ælfric, furnish interesting and accurate ideas of the church-service and the preaching of the Church, which may be consulted in English in the work last cited. "Dearest men," says an Anglo-Saxon sermon about 900 years old, "I entreat, and

would humbly teach you should grieve now for your sins; because, in the future life, our tears will tell for nought. Hear the Lord *now*, who invited, and will grant us forgiveness. Here he is very gentle; there he will be severe. Here his mild heartedness is over us; there will be an eternal judgment. Here is transient joy; there will be perpetual sorrow.—O man! what are you doing? Be not like the dumb cattle. O think, and remember, how great a separation the Deity has placed between us and them. Remember that for thee the Lord descended from the high heaven to the most lowly state, that he might raise thee to that exalted life."

For the performance of their religious ceremonies, the Anglo-Saxon priests were to celebrate mass only in churches, and on the altar, excepting in cases of extreme sickness. Their garments were to be woven; one was to be present to make responses; and mass was to be performed fasting; not more than thrice in the day, and then with pure bread, wine, and water for the Eucharist. The sacramental cup was to be of gold or silver, glass or tin, and not of earth, at least not of wood; the altar was to be clean and well clothed, and no woman was to approach it during mass. The priest's books appear to have been numerous, since Ælfric says they ought at least to have a missal, singing-book, reading-book, psalter, hand-book, penitential, and numeral-book. They were also to sing from sunrise, with the nine intervals and nine readings.

With regard to the doctrines and superstitions of the Anglo-Saxon Christians, it is certain that

Transubstantiation was not universally believed in. "The sacrament," says a volume of Ecclesiastical Constitutions, made about the time of the Norman Invasion, "is Christ's body, *not bodily, but spiritually*; not the body in which he suffered, but the body which he spake of when he blessed the loaf and wine." The saints of this church were supposed to have great powers over nature, disease, and human life; and those of native origin were greatly venerated. It has been shown, too, that idolatry had not departed in the eleventh century; and in the ninth, Ælfred writes, in a copy of the Decalogue, "Make not thou Gods of gold and silver." At the same time, however, though the Anglo-Saxons used both crucifixes and the sign of the cross, they were taught not to pray "to the wood, but to the Almighty Lord who suffered for us upon it."

But it must be admitted that they had some superstitions in a very high degree, particularly that of an extravagant veneration for reliques. Æthelstan presented to a church a great number collected abroad; some of which were, a piece of Christ's cap and hair; a piece of the Virgin's dress; part of the body and garments of St John the Baptist; St Paul's neck-bones; St Andrew's stick; the stone which killed St Stephen; and some of the burning bush. A Queen of Northumberland is said once to have stolen a bag full of reliques from Archbishop Wilfred, and ever after to have carried them in her chariot. Even the linen which held reliques was adored, and they were considered as amulets from danger on journeys. They were also worn about the neck,

Sec. sold at a high price, and preferred to all other presents.

The crimes of the Anglo-Saxons were usually expiated by various kinds of penance, which formed another feature of their superstition ; inasmuch as they might be redeemed by money, or performed by proxy. Their deep-like, or heaviest, penance, consisted in not wearing arms ; long travelling barefoot, without shelter by night, but continually fasting, watching, and praying ; not going into a bath, nor a soft bed ; not cutting the hair or nails ; not eating flesh, or drinking any thing intoxicating ; and not going into a church. Long fastings were also frequently ordered, but a seven years fast might be performed in three days, if the principal could prevail upon 840 persons to join him in it. The Council of Cloveshoe, in 747, solemnly condemned this plan of atonement, though the decree was disregarded. By the laws of Ethelred, however, which were enacted in the tenth century, a day's fasting might be redeemed for a penny, or the repetition of 200 psalms ; and a twelvemonth's for 30 shillings, or setting at liberty a servant of that value. Farther provisions for commutations are inserted, as repeating devotional forms, or even bending in devotional postures ; but the original intention of accepting alms for penance, was the doing of good actions by wealthy criminals. A singular instance of national penance occurs about 1015, when one of the great Danish armies had actually landed on the English coast ; the proclamation for which is yet in existence. It having been reported to the Wittenagemote, that St Michael had greatly befriended the Danes in Apulia, a general fast was ordered on

the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before his festival. Every man was to go without ornaments barefoot to church, confession, and with the holy reliques; to call inwardly in their heart diligently to Christ; to fast on bread and water; and to give alms of a hide-penny, or penny's worth. No work was to be done, the monks in every minster were to sing the Psalter and say mass "till things become better."

In the fourth century it first began to be supposed, that there was great sanctity in some particular places, and great merit in visiting them; the most eminent being the scenes of Christ's life about Jerusalem, whither many persons travelled from all parts of the Christian world, and especially from Britain. This superstition also continued to prevail in the eighth century, and had arrived at a lamentable degree of vice and perversion. Boniface, an Englishman, Archbishop of Mentz, when writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, desires him to restrain the nuns of his diocese from going to Rome, since they had supplied France and Germany with prostitutes.

It is not known at what period monasteries were introduced into Europe, though it was probably before the end of the fourth century. In particular, there was a monastery at Banchor Monachorum, near Chester; the brethren of which, upwards of 2000 in number, supported themselves by their labour, certain of them being at work whilst the others pursued their religious duties. Under the Anglo-Saxons, these institutions acquired a great, though fluctuating, popularity; and, for above a century, they were warmly patronised, their rule being that of St Benedict. They were

the only places in which learning was anciently fostered, and were usually erected wherever a new bishopric was founded, being intended for the support and habitation of the prelate. They consisted of Colleges of Priests, afterwards called Secular Canons, who were permitted to marry, and supported their families with decency until the reign of Edred, about 954. By the time of Bede, however, their improved property had excited spoliation, and the Danish Pagans also exulted in destroying them; but though Ælfred encouraged their rebuilding, few were erected again till the reign of Edgar. Those established in his time were too much under the control of Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, who introduced in them the system of celibacy, lately adopted by the Benedictines. Their members, however, had not originally been married; for, before the incursions of the Danes, the English clergy generally lived single. But those piratical adventurers being attracted by their undefended and plentiful garners, never omitted to attack every religious house and disperse the society. The scattered recluses then betook themselves to the villages, where they educated the young, or performed service in the churches for their subsistence; marrying, and gradually conforming to the character of the common people.

Many of the earliest missionaries, nevertheless, feared the society of women; and, St Columba, when he prohibited to his followers the use of milch-kine, assigned as a reason,—“Where there is a cow there must be a woman, and where is a woman there must be mischief.” At a much later period, it is declared by Archbishop Ælfric, that

"neither a wife nor a battle becomes the priest; if they will rightly obey God, and keep his laws as becomes their state. But to such an excess was Dunstan's ordinance against the married clergy carried, that to proceed against them with severity, formed part of Edgar's expiatory penance. "You have entreated and menaced in vain," said the King in a charge given in 969, to Dunstan, Ethelward, and Oswald; "from words it is now time to come to blows. All the power of the crown is at your command,—strike boldly. Drive out from the Church of Christ these married profligates, and bring in others who will conform to the law of celibacy." The sufferings of the married Ecclesiastics, however, who would not expose their wives and children to want and infamy, had affected many nobles, and particularly Alfrede Duke of Mercia. Three synods were successively convened, at each of which Dunstan must have been defeated, had he not been supported by miracles. At one time, a voice from a crucifix exclaiming, "Be firm! you have once decreed aright! alter not your ordinances!" Another time, a divine revelation to Dunstan suddenly closed the debate. But in 978, at a council held at Calne, one Beornhelm, a most loquacious Scottish Bishop, as the monks style him, had been sent for to speak on behalf of the oppressed clergy. He defended their cause so well, that they must certainly have succeeded, had it not been for the sudden fall of the chamber where the synod was held; where Beornhelm, the married priests, and other friends were buried in the ruins. In quitting the subject of monastic institutions, it should be remarked, that their manners and customs are treated of in a

most minute and interesting manner, by the Rev. T. D. Fosbroke, in his *British Monachism*, Lond. 1817, 4to, and vol. 11. p. 681. of his *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*.

The Saxon Churches are supposed to have been most commonly erected where the bodies of saints were discovered, consisting at first of small wooden oratories, thatched with rushes, and sometimes wholly constructed of woven wands. The first Christian Church was built in A. D. 627, by Paulinus, in Northumbria, of wood, though it was afterwards rebuilt with stone, and upon a larger scale. He also erected a stone church at York, which had windows of fine linen cloth, or wooden lattice work, through which the birds came and built within it. His edifices, however, were not very skilfully constructed, since the former had its roof dilapidated, and its offices half destroyed within a century; and Bede observes of his church at Lincoln, that its roof had fallen down, though the walls remained standing. In the same century several improvements were effected in these buildings by a Christian Saxon named Benedict, who had resided some time in Rome, where he became a monk, and whence he returned about A. D. 668, with Theodora, Archbishop of Canterbury, and several curious artists and mechanics. As he admired the character and spacious size of the Roman Churches, in A. D. 676 he employed cementarios, or masons, to build one upon the same model, which was finished in a year; and he also sent into Gaul for glass-makers, to make windows for the porches and lodgings. A monastery built by Cuthbert in this century, seems to imply, how-

ever, that such edifices were still very imperfect. It measured about $72\frac{1}{2}$ feet between the walls, which were higher than a standing man, and made of rough stones and turf found on the spot; and the roofs were of wood and clay. As the practice of architecture improved, better materials were adopted, and Firman took the thatched roof from the Church of Durham and covered it with leaden plates. About A. D. 709 flourished Wilfred, Archbishop of York, who had also been at Rome; he repaired the church of Paulinus at York; and at Ripon and Hexham he erected two others of polished stone, the latter of which was remarkable for its foundation, size, height, and winding passages. It was paved with stone, rushes being scattered over the ordinary ground, and was superior to any edifice on this side the Alps.

So early as the eighth century, the Anglo-Saxons appear to have been furnished with organs, having keys and gilt cases; and one made by Dunstan for the Church of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, had thirty pounds bestowed on the copper-pipes, which, says the ancient description of it, "being struck on feast days with the strong blast of bellows, emit a sweet melody and far resounding peal." Another is mentioned in the life of St Swithin, in 669, which had 12 pairs of bellows above, 14 below, 400 pipes, and required 70 strong men to work it. Theodore and Adrian introduced ecclesiastical chanting at Canterbury, in its improved state by Gregory the Great; after which it was adopted in the other English Churches. In 678 the Roman mode of singing was brought from Rome, by one John, who had orders from the Pope to teach it to the clergy,

after which it became a favourite study in the Saxon monasteries. Psalm-singing was also much practised by the clergy and devout persons of this period, being their common occupation when travelling or at work ; whilst the ancient English Kings also joined in the church-service, and sang the offices in surplices. The whole Psalter was sometimes sung over every night, and before eating on Sundays and festivals ; and children were required to commit it to memory.

The seventh century probably first witnessed the introduction of bells, when they are mentioned by Bede ; and in the tenth century, four of different sizes were made by Dunstan and Æthelwold for the Church at Abingdon. In the oldest Anglo-Saxon buildings they were not inclosed in towers, but placed under a small arch, the ropes passing through holes into the roof of the church, having hand-rings of brass, and even of silver. They were originally rung by the Priests themselves, and afterwards by servants, and persons incapable of other offices, as the blind, &c. At certain seasons the choirs of the churches were strewn with hay, and at others with sand ; on Easter-Sunday with ivy-leaves, and sometimes with rushes. The doors were locked till the first hour, or prime, and from dinner till vespers ; and some of the books in the choir were covered with cloths. It is supposed that many undoubted specimens of Anglo-Saxon churches are yet remaining ; as those of Tickencote near Stamford in Lincolnshire, part of St Peter's at Oxford, part of St Alban's Abbey, the southern porch at Shireburn Minster, and numerous others.

Church-yards were introduced by Cuthbert,

Archbishop of Canterbury, from what he had seen at Rome, in A. D. 742; though they were not universal until long after, when many legends were invented to show the sanctity of burial in them, nor were they originally inclosed.

In A. D. 1061, Aldred, Archbishop of York, made a great alteration in the habits of his clergy, which before did not differ from that of the laity.

There has been considerable discussion concerning the time when parishes were formed; but the *Parechia* of the seventh century signified a diocese, and not those small districts at present called parishes, which were formed at various periods. From the extent of the ancient districts, chapels were erected in the hamlets; and before the Norman Invasion the King's manors were furnished with churches and chapels in the hamlets, as were also some other manors, the greater landlords preferring private chapels. This custom prevailed in the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, when even common lawyers are said to have had their chaplains.

CHAPTER III.

ROMISH CHURCH IN ENGLAND FROM A. D. 1066
TO A. D. 1485.

IMPLICIT devotion to the Papal decrees being as much the principal of the Norman monks, as it had been of the Anglo-Saxons, little alteration was made in the English Church by the invasion of William in 1066. The high-minded strangers, however, who replaced the monks dispossessed by the King, soon quarrelled between themselves for precedence; and it was not without great difficulty that Thomas, Archbishop of York, was induced to submit to Lanfranc of Canterbury. The former ecclesiastic maintained, that York, having been founded by Scottish Bishops, was independent of Canterbury, quoting venerable Bede as an authority; but the latter pleaded custom, and so established his claim, when the cause was disputed before the King in Council. But some change the clergy did experience from William, since he made church-lands liable to military services, which the Angle-Saxon priests had been exempted from; and he often seized upon the vessels and treasures of the monasteries. It may be remarked, however, in mentioning this subject, that the clergy do not always appear to have remained free from military duties even in their

own persons, since writs have been occasionally issued by the English Sovereigns for calling out all those between the ages of 16 and 60.

The dispute concerning clerical celibacy still continued between the Pope and the Priesthood, though the ordinance was at length permanently established, and the pontifical influence extensively increased. At the same time, however, Paschal II. admitted, that the best and most considerable part of the English clergy were sons of priests, and commanded that ordination should not be withheld from them on that account. This liberty seems to have been altered by a Council held in 1175, when it was ordered that no priest's sons should succeed to the livings of their fathers, and that none of the superior clergy should presume to marry. Ecclesiastical marriage had also been condemned by a severe code of laws published in 1108; and about 1166 John di Crema proceeded rigorously against the married priests. This ecclesiastic was the first Papal legate ever admitted in England; but by his own incautious profligacy he soon lost his importance, and quitted the nation in secrecy and disgrace.

The *Norman feudal* custom of the lord of an estate taking homage of his kneeling tenant, with his hands enclosed in his own, became also a matter of dispute with the Pope; since Urban II. by a canon issued at Bari in 1098, denounced excommunication against the laymen who gave investiture to, and took homage of priests, and all ecclesiastics who yielded to either claim. "What," exclaimed the pontiff, according to Eadmer's report of this circumstance, "shall those hands which can create the Divinity," alluding to the transub-

stationation of the Host in performing mass, "be pressed between hands stained with blood, and polluted with obscenity?" and upon the conclusion of his speech, the conclave assented by a loud and repeated Amen. Henry I., however, strongly contested this privilege, since it secured to the ecclesiastics an entire independence of the laity; upon which Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, went again to Rome, and William Wadwast was sent to oppose him. The latter so irritated the Pope by his powerful reasoning, that he swore aloud "before God," he would not allow laymen the privilege of investiture. A reconciliation took place only by the interposition of Adela, the sister of King Henry, from her fear of his eternal condemnation; when the right of investiture—giving the pastoral staff and ring—was yielded to the Church, and that of homage retained for the temporal lord.

At the close of the eleventh century, the clergy of England appear to have been in high esteem since the choice of a Bishop of St David's was submitted to Henry I, and Bernard, a chaplain of the Queen, was nominated to the See. In 1120, also, Alexander King of Scotland, asked the English Sovereign for Eadmer the historian to be Bishop of St Andrews; but though the King consented, the conscientious monk declined it, because he could not be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the baronial tumults of Stephen's reign, the Court of Rome artfully seized upon several privileges, especially the very important power of deciding on ecclesiastical causes: one of which last

ed five years before the Pope, at an enormous expence. Nothing, however, appears to have been more pleasing to Rome, than any appeal from the temporal to the spiritual jurisdiction, and no acknowledgments were withheld to encourage them. "Blessed be thy heart and thy senses," said Urban II. to Archbishop Anselm, when he visited Rome in 1098 to complain of William II., "Blessed be thy lips and the words that issue out of them;" to which he also added an honourable station in his council. The desire of Papal supremacy had probably first appeared in A. D. 1013; when the Emperor Henry II. was crowned at Rome, and Benedict VIII. demanded if he would always be faithful to him and his successors. When Henry I. of England accepted the sovereignty of Ireland from Adrian IV., he tacitly acknowledged the same power; since the grant declared that every island in which Christianity had gained the ascendant, belonged of right to St Peter and the holy Roman Church. King John, however, allowed this claim in a still more extended form, when he resigned his kingdoms to the legate Pandolphus in 1213; to hold them as the Pontiff's tributary, by paying for them annually 1000 marks, 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

The ecclesiastics of England were not without their own ambitious disputes during this period; for at the commencement of the reign of Henry II. the more wealthy and powerful dignitaries of the church endeavoured to withdraw their benefices from Episcopal jurisdiction. Some of them forged characters of exemption, which were detected; and others applied to the Pope for a licence to be independent of all but himself, and

even to wear Episcopal ornaments. They frequently succeeded, though at considerable cost; and Robert, Abbot of St Alban's, gave three mitres and a pair of exquisitely wrought sandals to the Pontiff, and 200 marks, 1327. 8s. 8d. to his servants. This was the origin of the Mitred Abbots, afterwards so famous in Parliamentary History. Another Ecclesiastical dispute was that between Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of that cathedral, whose power he endeavoured to restrain by erecting a church and monastery at Hackington, close to his own metropolis. Though supported by the King, and partly sanctioned by the Pope, the monks triumphed, and in 1191 he was forced to destroy several edifices which he had too hastily erected. A similar attempt was made in 1196, to form a new edifice and society of priests at Lambeth, under the auspices of Richard I., to counteract the turbulence of the diocesan ecclesiastics. But this also failed; and in 1199 the buildings were wholly destroyed, in consequence of a very peremptory bull from Innocent III.

Though the twelfth century is characterised by the arrogant conduct of Archbishop Becket, and the concessions of Henry II., which, however, belong to the political history of the period, yet a religious reformation had in some degree begun. So early as 1066, a set of unfortunate persons, the precursors of the Waldenses, &c. came to England, where they were persecuted, and termed Publicans. The English clergy, also, were not without some cruel apprehensions from King John; notwithstanding his subsequent submissions. Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Lincoln, was put to death by

being enclosed in a leaden pall, for posting up a Papal bull; and Matthew Paris adds, that some were starved, and others tortured, until they sank under the persecution. A council held at Westminster, in A. D. 1175, ordered that the clergy should not wear long hair, and Archdeacons were authorized to shorten the locks of the inferiors upon the spot.

All this time the Scottish church preserved its steady character, and was disturbed only by a contest on the right of appointing bishops to its sees, which was claimed by the Archbishop of York as the Northern Primate. Notwithstanding, however, the weight and influence of the latter, he was successfully opposed, and his claim defeated.

King John's concessions to the Pope, and the great importance which, during the minority of Henry III., attached to the Pontiff's legate, had given to the Court of Rome considerable influence in England. This, however, was not universally submitted to; since in 1232 an association was formed, including some persons of rank, to oppose and expel the foreign priests whom the Pope had instituted to the best English benefices. Though the endeavour was popular, it was unavailing; for whilst Cardinal Otho was legate at Henry's Court, 300 more Italian monks were provided for, between 1236 and 1240. The amazing increase of the clergy's landed property, however, was in some degree restrained by the statute of Mortmain, in 1279, though many deceptions were still practised in endowments, which were not finally suppressed until 1391.

The Papal power in England was also strengthened, by some of its sovereigns calling in the

Pontiff's authority between themselves and their subjects. In 1348, Edward III. required Clement VI. to interpose concerning the election of a plain honest priest named Thomas Bradwardin to the See of Canterbury; and in 1360, when the English prelacy had been reduced by the plague, Innocent VI. had the influence to make seven bishops at once. In this darkness appeared Wickliffe, "the Morning Star of the Reformation," who about 1372, was sent to Rome as one of the King's commissioners, to require that the Pope should not interfere in Ecclesiastical benefices. Their embassy, however, was ineffectual; but this steady and learned Friar was encouraged to proceed in exposing the Papal tyranny, though his conduct procured him continual persecution, and such names as "Limb of the Devil, Enemy of the Church, Idol of Heretics, Mirror of Hypocrisy, Author of Schism, Sower of Hatred, and Inventor of Lies." But all his efforts could, at this time, only prepare the way for a future reformation, especially in Germany, whither his writings were sent by means of Anne of Luxemburg, Queen of Richard II., a great friend to Scriptural knowledge. His followers, however, were supposed to amount to one half the kingdom, though none at this time died for being such, notwithstanding the King in 1395 returned from Ireland, as Henry Knighton expresses it, "to save the church." The Lollards, as these reformed Christians were called, upon the King's proceeding to treat them with severity, mostly recanted; but the death of their greatest enemy, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1413, deprived the penal

statutes of their violence; and these virtuous and primitive persons were left for a while unmolested; . . . It was probably the importance of attaching himself to a rich and powerful party, which induced Henry IV. to consent to the severe measures of this prelate. The doctrines of Wickliffe had, however, gained so much influence in the nation against the monks, that in 1409, when the King was desiring a permanent yearly aid to be paid him for his clergy and laity, his Parliament actually advised him to seize on the conventual revenues. It was also suggested, that the care of each parish should be left to the secular clergy, who would do the duty better; whilst the monastic revenues would support 15 Earls; 1500 Knights; 6000 Esquires, and 100 hospitals, leaving a yearly residue of 20,000*l.* for the King. But Henry gave no countenance to the design, and every penal statute affecting the Lollards was enforced. Thomas Badby, a tailor of Worcestershire, was given to the flames in Smithfield for denying the corporeal presence in the Host; and the sectarians, carefully sought after, were imprisoned in great numbers. The triumph of Archbishop Arundel induced him, in 1412, to compel the University of Oxford to appoint commissioners to examine the works of Wickliffe; in which tribunal, 267 of his doctrines were denounced as heretical or mistaken. In the latter years of the fourteenth century, the Papal party made several vain, though considerable efforts, to abolish the statute against provisors, or the naming of foreigners to every vacant benefice; and that of praemunire, which prevented the Pope from venting his anger on any bishop, who should presume to induct a priest

contrary to his mandate. But though again, in 1477, the Commons disregarded an attempt of the prelates and clergy to explain the latter statute more commodiously, Edward IV. had exerted his prerogative in dispensing with it soon after his accession, when he was desirous of procuring their support to his disputed title. He actually restored to the Ecclesiastics, that complete independence of lay-authority, of which Henry II. had with so much reason deprived it. The effect which these privileges had upon their order, is too plainly shown in the commission of Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, for the reformation of his monks, &c. wherein he characterises them as in great part ignorant, illiterate, and profligate, negligent of their duty, and dissipators of their revenues, in rioting, gluttony, and vice.

That the Papal influence had decreased in England during the fifteenth century, seems certain from two unsuccessful attempts to raise supplies from the Clergy. In one instance, Nicholas V. sent to Henry VI. a blessed and perfumed robe, with a request that he would command his ecclesiastics to pay a heavy duty to the Pontifical treasury; but though the gift was received with ceremony, the solicitation was disregarded. Again, in 1463, when Pius II. proposed to march in person against the infidels, he endeavoured to procure aid by taxing the Clergy of Europe at a tenth of their revenues; but so faintly were his demands supported by the Civil power, that his receipts amounted only to a fortieth.

A lapse of several centuries had intervened, since the last Anglo-Saxon versions of the Scriptures; and though John de Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley, in

Coriwall, is said to have rendered the Bible into English, about the close of the thirteenth century, at the command of his patron, Lord Thomas de Berkeley, yet the next translation, of which there is any positive account, was Wicliffe's. About the year 1380, he translated the whole Bible from the Latin Vulgate into the ordinary English of his time; and the interesting New Testament of this Reformer has been printed, the best edition of it being that by the Rev. H. H. Baber, Lond. 1816; 4to. As this translation appeared before the invention of printing, MS. copies of it were such rare and laborious productions, that in 1429 the price of one of Wicliffe's Testaments was four marks and twopence, or 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, being equal to more than 40*l.* of the present money. The book, however, was so much feared by some and hated by others, that in 1380 a bill was brought into the House of Lords for suppressing it, which was rejected only through the influence of the Duke of Lancaster. In 1406, Archbishop Arundel, in a convocation at Oxford, condemned the reading of it, and ordered that no future translations should be made. The divinity of the Clergy about this time, appeared to soar above the Scriptures; and the schoolmen valued themselves, on carrying forward their theological improvements, independently of either Testament. Those ecclesiastics, however, who still studied them, were scoffingly called Bible-men, and could find neither pupils, attendants, nor places to read lectures in any European University. In this neglect, the whole power of the Church was exerted to keep the Scriptures; and, when Erasmus published his Greek Testament in 1516, he had the reproaches

of most of those who were unfavourable to the Reformation. But the circulation of the Scriptures in English was still more opposed by the clergy; and Dr Buckenham, a Prior of the Black Friars at Cambridge, said in the pulpit, "Should this heresy prevail, we shall soon see an end of every thing useful. The ploughman reading, that 'if he put his hand to the plough and looked back, he were unfit for the kingdom of God,' would soon lay aside his labour. The baker, likewise reading, that 'a little leaven will corrupt his lump,' would give us very insipid bread; and the simple man finding himself commanded to 'pluck out his eyes,' in a few years we should have the nation full of blind beggars."

The sermons delivered in the ancient monasteries, &c. of England, were on Sundays, between 11 and 3 in the afternoon, a bell being tolled to summon the people; and discourses were also delivered on Saints' days and other solemnities. They were singular compositions, full of religious allegory, and illustrated by legends or stories, which were afterwards explained as to their spiritual meanings. "A lark," says one of them, translated by Mr Resbroke, in his *British Monachist*, "is a bird which sings a song, proceeding from recollection of the love of God. For the lark, when she begins to mount, lightly sings, 'Deum, Deum, Deum;' when she comes a little higher, she sings many times, 'Deum;' when she comes highest of all, she sings entirely, 'Deum.' Thus does the pious soul from gratitude." In another sermon, the people are told, that on the day they hear mass, they shall not lose their sight, nor die a sudden death, nor wax aged, and that every step home

ward and hitherward shall be reckoned by an angel. That famous collection of popular narratives, called the *Gesta Romanorum*, also furnished the monastic preachers with many materials for illustration, as well as the legends and martyrologies of Saints. See the translation of that work by the Rev. C. Swan, Lond. 1824, 8vo.

The ancient English churches were most splendid in the time of Edward I., when they had several curious and peculiar features now no longer existing. The church itself was a long narrow building intended to represent a ship, in which the Gospel is tossed on the sea of the world: they were also sometimes cruciform, like cathedrals, and sometimes round, in imitation of that erected over the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The High Altar was typical of the church, and had four corners, because the Gospel was extended through the four corners of the world: and its dimensions were intended to agree with those of the altar in the Mosaic law. An altar could not be consecrated without relics, and therefore an aperture was left for their insertion, which was closed up by a stone called the Seal of the Altar, having the cement mixed with holy water. At the back was a fine stone screen with niches, having a canopy projecting from it, and covering the pix or box containing the Host, which was frequently a dove of goldsmith's work, and esteemed of very great sanctity. The common altar-piece was a picture of the Last Judgment, called *Mappa Mundi*; and about and over the altar were curtains and several kinds of covers. The Epistle and Gospel were often sung at a desk, made in the shape of an eagle, the emblem of St. John the

Baptist, and called a Lectern ; whilst another desk was appropriated to reading of Martyrologies, the book for which always laid upon it. The choirs were lighted by candlesticks, shaped like trees rising out of the ground, and having many lights ; but some chandeliers were pendent, and called crowns. Some churches were provided with chambers for persons who watched in them the whole night ; an instance of which exists in Lincoln Cathedral, where the searchers had an allowance of bread and beer. After shutting of the doors, their duty was to give 40 tolls on the greatest of our Lady's bells, then to refresh them in the wooden room, and afterwards to walk round and search the edifice. Across the nave of the church, or at the entrance of the chancel or choir, were galleries called woodlofts, where the minstrels played, and where were exhibited effigies of the Crucifixion, or Rood, the Virgin, St John, and sometimes ranks of saints on each side. These galleries were sometimes very richly carved and gilt, and decorated with screens. Confessionals were small rooms or closets with apertures, through which the penitent spoke to the priest unseen ; and they sometimes were placed near the altar. For viewing the splendid processions which were often made in the Romish churches, the upper parts of the buildings often contained places or pews looking downwards ; and the pavement of the nave was sometimes marked with lines and particular stones, to show the space for such processions, and the situation of the performers. Beyond the ordinary choir, the ancient churches are often divided into small chapels, called Retro-choirs, or Lady Chapels

but also dedicated to various saints. The sick and strange monks usually sat in them, and those who arrived after the service had commenced. As the churches upon solemn occasions were richly decorated with tapestry, &c., there were passages round the upper parts called Triforia, which were used for ornamenting them. The pulpits generally faced the west, that in all devotional acts the people's faces might be towards the east; and in 1483, the pulpit at Dunstaple Priory appears to have had a clock erected over it. The subjects painted on glass for church-windows, usually consisted of effigies and arms of founders and benefactors, sovereigns, saints, scriptural and historical pieces, and miraculous events, either connected with the church or contemporary with its founder. Lastly, the fonts of greater churches were in rooms called Baptisteries, being adorned with baptismal pictures, and having springs flowing into them. Fonts were anciently locked up in Lent, because Easter and Whitsuntide, excepting in danger of death, were the proper seasons of baptism; the veneration for which long continued, though the restriction was abolished about 1100, on account of the number of infants which died. Numerous other particulars on this subject will be found in the Rev. T. D. Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, whence the foregoing have been selected.

The books used in the church-ceremonies of this time were numerous and costly, from their being only in MS., and the provision of them belonged to the rectors or parsons of the churches. But upon the introduction of vicars, the finding of the bread and wine, lights, and the washing of the church-linen, were laid upon them. And though

the books were still furnished for them, yet the vicars were often put to the cost of binding or preserving them. The books, it was ordered in 1305, should be provided between the rectors and parishioners; those falling to the latter being the Legend, Antiphoner, Gradual, Psalter, Tropery, Ordinal or Pye, Missal, and Manual. To conceive the expense of these, it may be remarked, that in 1424 two Antiphoners cost the Monastery of Crabhouse in Norfolk, 26 marks, 17*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, which may be estimated at upwards of 120*l.* in modern currency.

CHAPTER IV.

REFORMATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE history of this important alteration in the English Faith, comprises so many events both ecclesiastical and political ; refers to so many sources of action, both public and private, secular and clerical ; and brings forward so many eminent characters both in the Church, the State, and ordinary life, that many volumes have been found insufficient to treat of it in all its parts. The truth is, that it had been long and carefully preparing ; the chief causes of it being the inordinate usurpations of Rome, and the extreme luxury, ignorance, and profligacy of the English clergy and monks, whose approaching depravity Venerable Bede had predicted upwards of eight hundred years before. But although the way for a reformation in the ecclesiastical policy of England seemed partly open, as soon as some sufficient power should be found to support it ; yet the doctrines of Wicliffe had animated but few disciples who were resolute enough to retain them even to martyrdom.

Independently, however, of the few who at first engaged in the Reformation from motives of faith, there were many not less dissatisfied with the inordinate opulence and voracious disposition of the clergy; which, for some centuries, the lawyers had endeavoured to restrain. One of their privileges, in particular, had proved especially pernicious, and had been frequently disputed—that of the exemption of all ecclesiastics from civil judgment for crimes. It was notwithstanding enacted, by a statute of Henry VI., that instead of being instantly claimed by the bishop on any criminal charge, they should be compelled to plead their privilege at their arraignment after conviction. Under Henry VII. it was provided, that clerks who had committed felony should be burned in the hand; and in 1513, benefit of clergy was taken from highway-robbers and murderers, though an exemption was still made for priests, deacons, and sub-deacons. This law at once alarmed and enraged the clergy, and the bishops disputed the power of the Legislature to enact it; but Henry expressed himself forcibly against their innovations, and seemed disposed to keep the power of the Church within proper limits. During the whole reign of Henry VII., however, and the first nineteen years of his son,—1528—the King, Nobility, and all the Ecclesiastics, appeared devoted to the Pontifical authority; and England might have been cited as the country where its rule and religion were most firmly established. The usurpation of the first of these sovereigns, induced him to support his defective title by indulging his clergy; and Henry VIII., from his ecclesiastical education, was impressed with a profound rever-

ence for the Pope's authority, and a deep regard for monastic learning. The ordinary instructions of the clergy, however, both philosophical and religious, gradually fell into contempt, as the Classics superseded the one, and the Holy Scriptures expelled the other. The first of these changes was effected by the early grammarians of Europe ; and it gave considerable aid to the Reformation, though it had no immediate connection with that event. The revival of the English Bible, however, completed the work : and though its appearance was late, and its progress was retarded in every possible manner, yet its dispersion was at length equally rapid, extensive, and effectual.

Viewing these, then, as the chief causes of a Reformation, which probably must have taken place at some time or other, even though they had never existed, the few particulars concerning them which can be contained in the present Chapter, shall be comprised under the following principal features. The marriage of Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, which produced the first separation from the Romish See : the dissolution of the English religious houses, which entirely suppressed the great body of the Papal clergy : the dispersion of the English Scriptures, which enlightened the common people in the pure faith of the Gospel ; and the establishment of the reformed Liturgy, which furnished them with a ritual more consistent with its doctrines.

It is certain that the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, widow of his brother Arthur, in 1502, was without a precedent, although it was supported by the Papal dispensation, which, however, had not satisfied all minds. But it can-

not now be either ascertained or believed, if any other cause than regard for another person really excited the King's wishes to be separated from Catherine, first openly expressed in 1527 ; though it is equally uncertain when his dislike to her actually began. The English prelates were consulted, and all excepting Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, were in favour of a divorce, in common with those who favoured the Lutheran doctrines, were acquainted with the bigotry of Catherine, and knew the disposition of Anne Boleyn towards a reformation. By the advice of Wolsey, the affair was referred to Clement VII., to dissolve the former dispensation, and give a sentence of divorce ; but the Pontiff being illegitimate, sat insecurely on his throne, and feared to offend the Emperor Charles V., by repudiating his aunt Catherine, since he had recently been imprisoned by his forces. During this confinement, Dr Knight, an active agent of Henry, bribed the guard, and got admission to the captive, who declared his readiness to gratify the King, but alleged the impropriety of doing so whilst in custody. Throughout the five years' proceedings of this suit, he continued to act with the same hesitation and delay ; whilst Henry gradually committed many acts, and made many changes, which must have precluded any future connexion between the English Church and the See of Rome, even had the Pontiff's decision been finally in his favour. At first, indeed, this was the case ; since Clement sent to England a Bull to confirm the King's divorce, and permit him to wed again. Cardinal Campegio, his legate, showed this important instrument to more than one

person about the English court, though all attempts to get it from him were ineffectual. For the Pontiff having changed his measures out of fear of the Emperor, ordered it to be burned; and all that he could do for the King was, to give Cardinals Wolsey and Campegio a commission for trying the validity of the marriage, though he would not engage himself to confirm their sentence. Their trial produced no decision, for, in 1529, Catherine appealed to Rome; and though the two Cardinals sat again when a confirmation of the divorce was generally expected, Campegio announced instructions from the Pope, to allow of the Queen's appeal, and remove the cause to Rome. Henry's displeasure was soon declared, Cardinal Wolsey being disgraced in the same year; and as many of his subjects were ready to support his dispute with the Pope, a Parliament was summoned, which sat through several sessions, until it completely separated England from the Holy See.

Still, however, it was effected in a cautious and orderly manner; though, in 1531, the procrastination of the King's suit excited him to express some impatient hints of deciding for himself. But a statement of the case having been, by Cranmer's advice, laid before every foreign and domestic University, which agreed in voting for Henry, the Peers and Bishops of England signed a letter of remonstrance to the Pope, to which he returned only a temporising answer.

In the meantime, some attempts had been made to limit the Ecclesiastical power; and the Bishops had especially been censured in the House of Commons. An Act was also passed to limit their

clerical fees on Probates of Wills, which had been increased by Wolsey, and heavily complained of; since, in 1528, it cost 1000 marks, 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to prove the testament of Sir William Compton. In 1531, the clergy were likewise adjudged to have incurred forfeitures and imprisonment, for having admitted papal and legatine jurisdiction in Wolsey. They procured the King's mercy only by a fine of 100,000*l.*, and petition from the convocation, in which address they styled him "Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England;" though it was qualified by adding, "so far as is permitted by the law of Christ." In 1532, another symptom of declining from Rome was exhibited, in taking away the Annates, or first-fruits of benefices, which had been a continual source of discord between the Pope and the Christian countries. These amounted in England to a large sum annually, 160,000*l.* having been paid to Rome since 1510, the second year of Henry VIII. As if, however, still to leave space for a reconciliation, a condition was annexed, that if the Pontiff would either abolish the payment of first-fruits, or reduce them to a moderate amount, the King might declare before the next session, whether this act, or any part of it, should be observed. It was confirmed by letters patent in 1534, when an act was passed for taking away appeals to Rome from Ecclesiastical Courts, and for protecting the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn,—which had taken place about January 25th, 1532—from being annulled by the Pope.

Perhaps the last act of Papal supremacy in England under Henry VIII., was in 1534, when

the usual bulls were granted for establishing Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, on the death of William Warham ; for in the next session an Act provided, that bishops elected by their chapters on a Royal recommendation, should be consecrated, and archbishops receive the pall, without soliciting for the Pope's bulls. All dispensations and licenses hitherto granted by Rome, were set aside by another statute ; and transferred, in lawful cases, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The King is in this act acknowledged to be Supreme Head of the English Church, as he had been two years before by the Convocation ; though it was not until November that the title was formally declared by Parliament to belong to the Crown, and first-fruits and tenths given to it from the clergy. The supremacy was, nevertheless, not universally admitted ; and three Priors, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were condemned and executed for denying it in 1534, as an act of high treason.

But, notwithstanding the proceedings of Henry with regard to Rome, Francis I., King of France, was at this very time employed in mediating between him and the Pope, on his assurance that he would abide by the Pontifical award. An accidental delay, however, of the messenger sent to Rome with a conciliatory proposal, gave time for Clement's decree of March 23d, 1534, to arrive in England, by which Henry was commanded, on pain of excommunication, to quit Anne Boleyn, and receive back Catherine. Such were the principal circumstances attending this famous divorce ; and the next great feature of the Reformation, was the dissolution of the religious houses of Eng-

land, and some alterations in the government of the clergy.

Of all the clergy, who, it may be supposed, were in general extremely unwilling to be separated from their pontifical head, at so hazardous a time for their religion, the monastic order were certainly the most averse to any alteration; since they enjoyed the most influential and prosperous condition. The possessions of 645 religious establishments, amounted to one-fifth of the kingdom; but by granting easy leases, they did not enjoy above one-tenth of their value; and though some Abbots lived in splendour, in other houses the revenues were scarcely sufficient to support them. Being exempt from Episcopal visitation, and allowed to govern themselves, they had gradually become perverted; and in 1528 Wolsey commenced a reformation of the clergy, excited by Fox, Bishop of Hereford, when he procured bulls from Rome for suppressing several of the smaller convents, and endowing his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. It is probable, that whilst the King censured the Cardinal for his plundering these establishments, he also witnessed his proceedings with surprise and a latent gratification; since they discovered an extraordinary means of supply, to which, at a future time, he also might have recourse. In 1528, however, the experiment was again made, by some monasteries being suppressed to endow the King's Colleges at Cambridge and Eton, and bulls were procured for uniting some of the lesser to the greater, changing some of the greater into Cathedral churches, and erecting new bishopricks, which were not permanently established until 1541, when, though eighteen had been designed

only six were instituted. After the Papal sentence had been pronounced, Henry resolved at once to deprive the monks of all future power, and commanded Thomas Cromwell, then Secretary of State, to send commissioners throughout the kingdom, to visit and examine all the religious foundations; appointing him his Vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs. Though Cromwell and his officers were certainly unfavourably disposed towards the monasteries, yet their returns were certainly minute, and probably fair and liberal, since, however infamous some of them were reported, there were other foundations represented as unblameable. But it is yet very likely that the inquiries were sometimes made in a hostile and arbitrary manner; and at any rate, the fear of these visitations induced several Abbots to surrender their houses to the King. In 1536, the monasteries were more effectually proceeded against, by an act which gave to the crown all those having yearly revenues under 200*l.*, amounting to 276; on the argument that, in small societies, where the number was within twelve, they were most manifestly sinful, vicious, carnal, and abominable in their lives. The monastic suppression was completed by the famous Act of July 1539, which confirmed the seizure and surrender of Abbots; when there fell to the crown a clear yearly revenue of 161,607*l.*, from 645 monasteries, having 28 Abbots sitting in Parliament, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and chapels, and 110 hospitals. The furniture, clocks, bells, lead, &c, of the smaller monasteries, amounted to 100,000*l.*, and 5000 marks of bullion, 3333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* were found in one abbey. St Peter's, Westminster, was the richest

foundation, being valued at 3977*l.*, Glastonbury amounted to 3508*l.*, and St Alban's to 2150*l.* In addition to these, Henry had already seized upon the immensely rich shrine of Becket at Canterbury, and his name as a saint was ordered to be obliterated from the calendar.

In closing these particulars, it remains only to be noticed, that of the multitudes of monastic clergy thus left destitute, a few abbots had pensions allowed them varying from 6*l.* to 266*l.*; that some of this immense wealth was bestowed on the Universities in colleges and professorships, and six new bishoprics were erected; and that the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Gloucester, resisted to the last the seizure of their houses, and were executed for treason. It must be acknowledged on behalf of the monasteries, that hospitality and the arts certainly flourished in them to the last. The common people who had been used to participate in their gifts, attributed the succeeding dearness of provisions to their suppression; and even Cromwell's visitors allowed, that, in the house of Woolstrop, there were none but what could and did, use either embroidering, writing of books very fairly, making their own clothes, carving, painting, or graving.

During the violence of these events, however, the reformed doctrines, had not made any very extensive progress in England; for Henry had not established any new church instead of the Romish, and persecution on account of its tenets still continued. In 1531 and 1534, the laws against heretics were rigorously enforced; and several Protestants burned; though in 1535 Henry sent to the German Princes, and offered to confer with

their divines, as Melancthon, Bucer, &c. But these leaders of the reformists, although they kept fair with the King, answered him, that "whilst he burned reformed preachers, he could not be treated as a friend to reformation." At length, even after the suppression of monasteries, and the English Bible had been set up in churches, in 1539 the King was persuaded by Gardiner, that he ought to prove himself a *Catholic*, though not an adherent to the Pope, to avoid a general league against England. Upon this appeared that notorious act since called "the Bloody Statute," by which both Papists and Protestants suffered; and which capitally condemned all who supported the marriage of priests, and the participation of the cup, and all who opposed transubstantiation, auricular confession, vows of chastity, and private masses. For three days Cranmer resisted this act, and had even the boldness to enter his unsupported protest against it; but it was vain, though Henry evinced no resentment, and even sent the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Essex to dine with him, and console him under his disappointment.

But the reformed doctrines were spread most widely and effectually by those English books, which, printed in the German or Flemish provinces, were received and read in this country with avidity and delight, until in 1538 an act was passed, prohibiting the buying of foreign volumes. There was nothing, however, read more eagerly than the English testament, an imperfect edition of which was produced at Antwerp in 1526, by William Tindal, with great cost and labour. Several copies of it being imported into England,

they were seized on and burned at St Paul's Cross, with the remainder of the edition, which had been bought by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London. This very circumstance, however, principally contributed to its dispersion and improvement. For whilst Tindal was lamenting that his poverty would not permit him to amend his work, the Bishop bought all the remaining copies ; supposing that he could do his church no greater service than in destroying them. With this supply he printed a better edition, which was also transmitted to England, where it made many converts. Sir Thomas More, in 1529, expressing his surprise at the number of these prohibited books, inquired of a person accused of heresy, how Tindal subsisted abroad, and who were his friends and supporters in London ; promising protection for a faithful reply. The answer was exactly such an one as More was calculated to enjoy, since he was told that it was " my Lord Bishop of London who kept Tindal, by the money sent him to buy his books of the Testament." Other foreign editions were also burned ; the whole translation was publicly condemned ; and those suspected of importing or concealing such books, were sentenced by More to ride to Cheapside with their faces to their horses tails, having papers on their heads and the volumes hung round them, where they were to cast them into a fire, and afterwards to be fined at the King's pleasure. A copy of Tindall's octavo Testament produced 15*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* at Ames's sale in 1760 ; the translator was burned as a heretic in 1536. In 1535 appeared the whole Bible in English, by Miles Coverdale, and, the

Reformation having then begun, it was dedicated to the King, being the first published by royal authority; and in the following year its general adoption was ordered by the ecclesiastical power of Cromwell. A copy of the Scriptures, in Latin and English, was to be provided for every parish church within the realm, and chained to a pillar on a desk in the choir, for every man that would to read and look therein. Another injunction to the same effect, appeared in 1538; and a royal declaration ordered to be read in churches, by which the King permitted the use of the Scriptures. An impression of 1500 copies was printed by Richard Grafton, of which every curate was directed to have one, and every abbey six. A proclamation, issued in May 1540, ordered this under a penalty of forty shillings a month; and the price of the Bibles was fixed at ten shillings unbound, or twelve shillings well bound and clasped. When Bonnar was made Bishop of London in this year, he set up six Bibles in certain convenient places in his cathedral, with an admonition to the readers, fastened on the pillars to which the books were chained. This admonition directed, that whosoever came to read, should prepare himself to be edified and made better, joining his readiness to the King's injunctions; that he should bring with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour; that there should no such number meet together as to make a multitude; that no exposition be made thereupon but what is declared in the book itself; and, that it be not read with noise in time of divine service, nor any contention or disputation used at it.

The most famous translation of this period, however, was that promoted by Archbishop Cranmer in 1584, after the Papal power was abolished in England, and the King's supremacy settled by Act of Parliament. It appeared in April 1539, being printed by Grafton and Whitechurch, and called "the Great Bible;"* but during the whole reign of Henry VIII. the friends of the Reformation were actively engaged in improving and introducing English versions of the Scriptures, which were eagerly received by the people, though they had many difficulties to encounter from the inveterate prejudices of a strong Romish party, and the inconstancy of an absolute sovereign. The holy books were generally received with joy throughout the realm; some aged persons even learned to read purposely to study it; and two apprentices, who had pro-

* This edition of the English Scriptures, is particularly distinguished by a very fine and interesting title-page engraven on wood, and said to have been designed by Hans Holbein. The general intent of it was to express the King's dispersion of the Bible through his realm, by giving it from his throne to Archbishop Cranmer, for the clergy, and Cromwell, Earl of Essex, for the laity; which is shown in the upper centre group of the engraving, copied as the Vignette on the Title-page of the present Volume. The remainder of the design exhibits their giving the Scriptures to the priests and people, and the instruction of the latter by preaching, with their joy at receiving the holy word. Independently of the great merit of this engraving as a work of art, it is also extremely interesting from displaying the costume of so many classes of English Society when it was executed; and the story of the whole is quaintly, yet expressively, carried on by labels issuing from the mouths of the several figures, bearing texts of Scripture, or exclamations in Latin and English.

cured a copy, hid it under the straw of their bed, from fear of their master, who was a rigid Papist. The possession of the Scriptures, however, was by no means secure ; since the King declared, in his proclamation, that his allowing them in English was not his duty, but his goodness and liberality to the people, of which he exhorted them to make no ill use. The Popish clergy, also, knowing that the reformed faith would be most effectually promoted by this privilege, did all in their power to discredit the translations. Bishop Tunstall affirmed, in a sermon at St Paul's Cross, that there were 2000 errors in Tindall's version ; and Gardiner made a list of about 100 words in Coverdale's, which he thought unfit to be translated. These, in case of an authorized version, of which the clergy reluctantly admitted the expediency, he advised should still be left in Latin. The curates, also, were very cold in promulgating the Scriptures, and read the King's ordinances in such a manner, that few persons knew what they uttered. They also read the Bible carelessly to their parishioners, and bade them " do as they did in times past, and live as their fathers, the old fashion being the best." In a little tract, entitled " The Supplication of the poor Commons," complaining to the King, that after his order for placing Bibles in churches, many " would pluck it either into the quire, or else into some pew where poor men durst not presume to come : yea, there was no small number of churches that had no Bible at all." At length, in the Parliament which met by prorogation January 22d 1542, the Popish party was most prevailing, and passed " an act for the advancement of true reli-

gion," &c. which stated the people having abused the liberty of reading the Scriptures, and then condemned Tindall's translation as crafty, false, and untrue; and ordered the copies of it to be suppressed. The other versions not being by him, were allowed to be used, so that all annotations were defaced under penalty of 40 shillings. The reading of the Bible was also restricted to persons appointed, or those accustomed to teach; and to noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, being householders. But no women, except noblewomen and gentlewomen, who might read to themselves alone, and not to others,—nor artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degrees of yeomen and under, husbandmen and labourers, might read the English Scriptures privately or openly, under penalty of a month's imprisonment. It is said, that the repeated complaints of the ill use which the people made of the Scriptures, in disputing and quarrelling about what they read, induced Henry to suppress all editions but that permitted by Parliament, which, in fact, could not be ascertained.

At the close of Henry's life, in 1547, Popery seemed to have the ascendancy in England; since the founding of a convent was one of his latest actions. He also bequeathed large sums to be expended in prayers for the repose of his soul: masses, the scenes of which he had despoiled and demolished, and the performers of which he had persecuted and almost exterminated.

The English Bible was protected and promulgated under Edward VI.; and the bishops, &c. were ordered, in their synods and visitations, to examine the clergy how they had profited in the study of

the Holy Scriptures. It was also appointed, that the Epistle and Gospel of the Mass should be read in English; and that on every Sunday and holiday, a chapter of the New Testament in English should be read at matins, and a chapter of the Old Testament at Even-song. This order was exchanged in 1549, for the reading of two lessons from these books, immediately after the Psalms at Morning and Evening Prayer. It is doubted if there were any new translation of the Scriptures in this reign, of less than seven years and a half; but it produced eleven printed editions of the English Bible and six of the New Testament. The reformation under Edward VI. was also carried on, even in the very first days of his reign, by the destruction of Papal images, some of which were burned at London; and soon after was issued an Order of Council for their general removal out of churches. It was certainly executed with great barbarity and rigour. The other changes consisted in taking away prayers for departed souls, auricular confession, and transubstantiation; about which latter, there were many disputes and singular theoretical compromises. The clergy were also permitted to marry; a custom already established in Germany, and which Archbishop Cranmer had already introduced into England by his own example. With all these alterations, the people and clergy, in general, acquiesced; and Bishops Gardiner and Bonnar, being the only persons whose opposition was thought of any importance, they were sent to the Tower, with intimations of the King's farther displeasure in case of disobedience. In 1549, the King was empowered to nominate a committee of sixteen bishops and clergymen, and six-

teen laymen, to compile a body of new canons; and, in 1552, a series of forty-two articles was drawn up in a convocation held at London, and published by authority. It is generally believed that Cranmer and Ridley were chiefly concerned in framing these articles, upon which are founded the thirty-nine in present use; but the truth seems to have been, that questions relating to them, were given about to many bishops and divines, who gave in their several answers, which were collated and examined very maturely, all sides having a free and fair hearing before anything was decided upon.

This reign, however, was not wholly without religious persecution; since, in 1548, certain Anabaptists were burned for denying the divinity of Christ; and it is hinted, that in 1549, certain German troops were sent for from Calais to aid in suppressing the Roman worship, which was proscribed in England. Many persons were imprisoned for hearing it, and the Lutheran Princes in Germany refused to tolerate it; but whilst the Reformation was established in London, in large towns, and in the eastern counties of England, in the northern and western parts, the great body of the people was Catholic, which induced the government to take some measures for converting the nation.

The alterations in the doctrines and ceremonies of the English Church, were, in every sense, a reformation; since these certainly were less effected by controversies on Theological points, than by removing the corruptions which had gradually defiled the pure and primitive institution. Archbishop Cranmer had already induced the King to permit

some appearance of better notions, to be exhibited in two books, set forth by authority, and compiled by a committee from the Convocation, called "The Godly and pious Institution of a Christen Man," published in 1537; and, "A Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man," which was an improved edition of the former, and was published in 1540 and 1543. They contained a few of the more important religious forms; such as the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, Ten Commandments, a declaration of the Seven Sacraments, &c. In 1540, also, a committee of Bishops and Divines was appointed by Henry VIII., at the petition of the Convocation, to reform the rituals and offices of the Church; the proceedings of which were considered by the Convocation itself in February 1542-43. In the next year, the King and his Clergy ordered the prayers for processions and litanies to be translated into English, and publicly used. In 1545, the King's Primer was published, which contained the prayers from the former books, the hymns called Venite and Te-Deum, with several collects, &c. in English: but whilst the King was probably meditating other changes, he died, January 28th 1546.

The reign of Edward VI. continued this series of improvements in the Church-service, by first providing that the Liturgy should be performed in English. The former ritual, which was in Latin, consisted of a collection of prayers, made up partly of some ancient forms used in the primitive Church, and partly of some of a later original, accommodated to the Romish Church, and derived thence to such as were in communion with it. Compiled at Rome, where the Latin tongue was

spoken ; the prayers had remained untranslated, even though the language had become unknown ; which tended, however, to cast a veil of solemn importance over the mass and its ministers. In 1547, the Convocation, and afterwards the Parliament, declared that all persons should receive the Sacrament in both kinds, the Romanists having withheld the cup from the laity ever since the Council of Constance in 1414, on pretence, that part of the transubstantiated fluid was frequently lost and defiled. The reformation of the Communion was succeeded by the appointment of a committee of the Clergy, to prepare "an uniform order for the Communion, according to the rules of Scripture, and the use of the primitive Church," which was done at Windsor Castle, and immediately brought into use. In 1548, the same persons were empowered by another commission to compose a new Liturgy, which was perfected in a few months, and included the preceding office. Archbishop Cranmer was at the head, both of the devising and executing these works, and the committee consisted of eleven others, including Ridley the martyr, most of whom were afterwards made Prelates of the English Church. The Liturgy, so formed, was then confirmed and published by the King and Parliament, and is called "the First Book of Edward VI."

About 1551, however, Cranmer proposed to review it, because some of its features had been objected to as superstitious ; and he called in Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, two foreigners, whom he had invited over from the troubles in Germany. The alterations then made, consisted chiefly of the addition of the sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, at the beginning of the morning

and evening services ; which, in the first Common Prayer Book, began with the Lord's Prayer. The other changes were the removing of some ceremonies contained in the former book ; as the use of oil in baptism ; the unction of the sick ; prayers for souls departed ; omitting the order for mixing water with the wine, and several others. The habits, also, prescribed by the former book, were directed to be disused, and kneeling at the Sacrament was explained ; after which the Parliament, in 1552, again confirmed it ; and it is frequently called " the Second Book of Edward VI. " But both this and the former act were repealed in 1553, the first year of Queen Mary, as not being conformable to the Romish superstition, which she was resolved to restore.

By the Acts of Uniformity, passed under Edward VI., it was ordered that the service-books of the Church,—including the Bible,—were to be provided at the expense of the parishioners ; but formerly, the parson or impropriator was at half the charge.

Many of the principal reformers having been driven to Geneva, during the persecutions of Queen Mary's reign, they published, in 1557, an English New Testament, printed by Conrad Badius, the first in this language which contained the distinction of verses by numbers, after the manner of the Greek Testament of Robert Stephens in 1551. In 1560, the Genevan Protestants published an entire translation of the Scriptures, usually called " the Geneva Bible, " and dedicated it to Elizabeth ; of which book there were thirty editions printed in England within sixty years, beside those published in other places. But the most celebrat-

ed version executed in the reign of Elizabeth, was that commonly named "the Bishop's Bible;" produced under the conduct of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. It appeared in 1568, and had been proposed three years before, because "copies of the former translation were so wasted, that very many churches wanted Bibles." The work is said to have been undertaken by royal command; and the plan of executing it was by dividing the Scriptures into about fifteen parts, which were distributed to eight of the English Bishops, with other select men of learning, whence the translation first received its name. The Archbishop, however, directed, reviewed, and finished the whole; thus carrying into effect the very design which Cranmer had endeavoured to perform in 1542, when it was opposed and frustrated by the Romish Bishops. It is said that, when the latter prelate proposed this work, Stokesley, Bishop of London, alone refused his contribution; upon which a chaplain observed, "No marvel that my Lord of London will have nothing to do with it, it is a *Testament* in which he well knows he hath no legacy."

In 1559, soon after the accession of Elizabeth, a new Act passed establishing the Queen's supremacy, and repealing all the laws for establishing Popery. Another statute provided for restoring of the English service; and several learned Divines were appointed to take another review of King Edward's Liturgies, and to frame from them both a book for the use of the Church of England. This commission included Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and nine others; but it is supposed that the principal management

devolved upon Mr Edward Guest, a very learned man, and subsequently almoner to the Queen and Bishop of Salisbury. It was at first debated which of the two former books should be received; and Secretary Cecil sent several inquiries to Guest on the reception of some matters in the first of them, as prayers for the dead; the prayer of consecration, delivering the sacrament into the communicant's mouth, &c. But at length King Edward's second book was fixed on, and it was accordingly passed and commanded by the Parliament; with the addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, the form of the Litany altered and revised, and two sentences added in delivering the sacrament. The alteration in the Litany consisted in omitting the words "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities," which was a part of the last deprecation in both the books of King Edward: and the adding these words to the first petition for the Queen, "Strengthen in the true worshipping of thee in righteousness and holiness of life." The sentences inserted at the delivery of the sacrament consisted of "the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee;" and, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." These were adopted out of King Edward's first book, and were the whole form then used; though they were omitted in the second, the form of which was also adopted. A few other variations from this second book were likewise made, as altering the direction concerning the chancels, and proper place for reading divine service; restoring the habits ordered in the first

book; adding two prayers for the Queen and clergy to the end of the Litany; and the omission of a note at the end of the communion service, explanatory of the Presence; for the Queen's design being uniformity, it was recommended to the divines to leave it as an indeterminate point. The English Liturgy, thus completed, was protected by the act of "Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church;" when 80 parochial rectors, 50 prebendaries, 15 heads of colleges, 12 archdeacons, 12 deans, and 14 bishops refused to conform. The new ritual, however, was established for 44 years, when it was again objected to, and discussed by the Puritans.

With respect to preaching, also, some little improvement was effected under Elizabeth, the ancient practice of it being revived by the reformers: since Archbishop Cranmer explained the Hebrews, as Bishops Hooker, Latimer, and Jewel, did Jonah, the Lord's Prayer, many of the Epistles, and all the Epistles and Gospels used in the Communion-service on Sundays and Holidays. In the time of Edward VI., however, 1547, there was only a quarterly sermon, which an injunction of Elizabeth in 1559 made monthly; whilst James I., in 1603, commanded a sermon or a homily to be delivered every Sunday. The fact was, that at the time of the English Reformation, many of the clergy were favourable to the Church of Rome; and most were so extremely illiterate and unfit for preaching, that they were forbidden by royal authority; and even about the close of Elizabeth's reign, when literature had considerably advanced, there were 8000 parishes in England destitute of any preach-

ing ministers. To remedy these defects, therefore, two books of homilies, or short sermons were prepared, one of which was ordered to be read upon every Sunday and Holiday when there was no sermon. The first volume appeared in 1547, and is supposed to have been written by Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; but the second is attributed chiefly to Bishop Jewel, and was not published until 1563. They consist of plain and short discourses, chiefly calculated to possess the nation with a sense of the purity of the Gospel, in opposition to the corruptions of Popery. They blend together speculative points and practical matters; some explaining the doctrine, and others enforcing the rules of life and manners.

Such was the state of the English Church and Liturgy, at the time when the Puritans were introduced into England, an account of which will be found in the ensuing chapter, which concludes the historical sketch of the religion of Great Britain. In this place it remains only to be remarked, that the authority used for the foregoing notices of the English Ritual, was Bishop Mant's excellent edition of the Book for Common Prayer, Oxford, 1825, 4to.

CHAPTER V.

INTRODUCTION OF PURITANS AND DISSENTERS INTO ENGLAND.

IN the early days of the Reformation under Edward VI., either the policy or the prejudices of Cranmer had induced him to retain a few church ceremonies, which most of the German reformers had abolished, though they were still retained by the Lutherans. They consisted only of some less important matters, such as the copes and rochets of bishops, and the surplices of priests; but the foreign reformers in England, and some abroad, were extremely dissatisfied at this moderation; which was a medium between the half-Roman ritual of Luther, and the rigid simplicity of Calvin and his followers. The former preacher for some time permitted and retained priestly vestments, tapers, the Latin Missal, images, crucifixes, and even the elevation of the Host to be used in his churches; but the Protestants of England were most inclined to the plainer establishments; and it was probably only the death of Edward in 1553, which prevented the Church of England from be-

coming more calvinistic in its forms, its discipline, and its doctrines; since that Prince laments, in his Diary, that he could not restore the primitive order to his heart's desire, because several of her bishops were unwilling; some from age, some from ignorance, some from their ill name, and some from love of Popery.

The Romish persecution under Queen Mary, had destroyed, it is calculated, about 284 martyrs by means of the English bishops, who were continually urged forward by the Privy Council. But many more persons quitted England, to the number, it is said, of 800, and sought refuge in France, Flanders, Geneva, and those parts of Germany and Switzerland where the Reformation had taken place, as Basil, Frankfort, Strasburg, Zurich, &c. where the magistrates received them with great humanity, and allowed them places for public worship. As most of the exiles, however, were genuine Sacramentarians, and denied the Real Presence in the emblem of Communion, the Lutherans, who partly admitted it, expelled them from their society, and the cities of Germany holding those tenets; and, even though Philip Melancthon interfered on their behalf, excited the magistrates against them. The number of refugees in 1556, was above 800, and comprehended several Prelates and superior Divines, the Duke and Dutchess of Suffolk, and many secular persons of distinction. They were most numerous at Frankfort, and there began that contest and division which gave rise to the dissenters called Puritans, and to that separation from the Church of England, which continues even to the present time.

In 1554, some of the English fugitives settled in that city, agreed to omit the liturgy, surplice, and audible responses after the minister; and to commence the service with a general confession, followed by a psalm, then a prayer for divine assistance by the minister, and afterwards the sermon: this being succeeded by a general prayer for all estates, especially for England, and closing with the Lord's Prayer, the articles of belief, another psalm, and the minister's blessing. The form being agreed upon, and a preacher and deacons elected, the dispersed brethren were invited to partake in these devotions; but, in 1556, Dr Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, came to settle at Frankfort with several of his friends, and interrupted the service by making their responses aloud, and reading the whole Litany. Having overpowered the first settlers, they procured leave from the magistrates to use King Edward's service-book, and performed worship according to that ritual; whilst those who preferred the plainer forms removed to Basil and Geneva. On this separation the one party received the name of Conformists, as conforming with the Liturgy of Edward VI.; and the others were called Non-Conformists and Puritans, because they insisted on a purer kind of worship, more exempt from superstition.

The accession of Elizabeth recalled the Protestants to England, where each party endeavoured to advance the Reformation according to its own standard of excellence; the majority of the exiles being in favour of the foreign churches, whilst the desire of the English nation and government was

to restore the Liturgy of Edward VI. Both parties, however, agreed too well as to the importance of an uniformity of public worship, and of using force to establish it. The test of this uniformity, on the one hand, was the law and the Queen's supremacy, whilst the other maintained it to consist in the decrees of provincial and national synods, allowed of and enforced by the civil magistrate. But before relating any circumstances of the struggle between these two parties, it will be proper to give a brief account of some of their tenets, and the numerous points which were the subject of dispute.

The Puritans found causes of complaint in almost every part of the ceremonies established by the Queen, and the ministers who more particularly endeavoured to support her designs. They held, with Wicliffe, that there should be but two degrees in the clergy, Presbyters and Deacons; and complained of the Bishops affecting to be of a higher order than the former, claiming the right of ordination, and the power of the keys, and assuming temporal dignities, titles and employments, with their spiritual offices. As long as the English Bishops pretended only to derive their dignity from the laws of the nation, and mere human authority, the controversy was carried on without excessive animosity or zeal, though it broke forth with immoderate violence in 1558, when Dr Bancroft ventured to assert, that the Episcopal order was, by divine right, superior to those of the Presbyters. They were also opposed to the titles and offices of Archdeacons, Deans, Chapters, and other officials belonging to cathedrals, as having no foundation in Scripture or primitive antiquity, and tak-

ing from the privileges of the Presbyters in the several dioceses. They complained, too, of the power of Bishops in their courts, as being derived from the Papal Canon law, and not from the word of God, or the jurisprudence of the country. They lamented the want of a godly discipline, and were concerned at the promiscuous and general admission of persons to the communion. They objected against reading the Apocryphal books in the church, whilst some of the received Scripture was omitted; and though they allowed of the Homilies, they considered that no person should be ordained, who was not capable of preaching and expounding the Scriptures. They disapproved of several of the church festivals and holidays, as having no foundation in holy writ or primitive antiquity; and objected to cathedral rites, and music in the church-service. They held likewise, that all human traditions are superfluous and sinful; that only the laws of Christ are to be practised and taught; and that mystical and significant ceremonies in religion are unlawful. The Queen's clergy were willing to allow that the Church of Rome was, in some measure, a true one, though corrupted in many points of doctrine and government; that all her ministrations were valid; and that the Pope was a true Bishop, though not of the universal church. But the Puritans affirmed the Pope to be Antichrist; the Church of Rome to be no true church; and all her ministrations to be idolatrous and superstitious: they renounced her communion, and questioned her validity. It was held by the Genevan reformers, that the Scriptures formed a sole and perfect rule of faith, church discipline and doctrine, containing all that was es-

essential for religious government ; on which account they had no officers nor ordinances, but such as are to be found in them ; holding, that the system established by the Apostles, was intended as an unalterable model for all after ages. The Queen's Divines denied this, asserting that the practice of the church for the first four or five centuries was a fitter pattern than the apostolical ; since the latter was adapted only to an infant and persecuted church, and the former to the grandeur of a national establishment. The court-reformers also maintained, that things indifferent in their own nature, such as ceremonies, rites, habits, &c. might be settled and commanded by the civil magistrate, and should then be received and observed by all. But the Puritans insisted, that what Christ had left undetermined, should not be made positive by any human laws ; and that such rites and ceremonies as had been corrupted to idolatry, and had a manifest tendency to lead the people back to Popery, were no longer indifferent, but ought to be rejected as unlawful. They likewise denied to the civil magistrate any discretionary power in religion, and vested it wholly in their spiritual officers.

Such were some of their ceremonial notions ; for it is asserted that during the reign of Elizabeth at least, most of the Puritans objected to any schism from the Church of England on account of doctrine, though they desired a reformation of her discipline and worship ; the greater part of them being Presbyterians. There were, however, in their body, some Independents and some Baptists, whose objections lay much deeper ; since they disapproved of all *national* churches, and de-

nied the authority of human legislation in matters of faith and worship. The Independents, perhaps, suffered most from the statute of 1593, which commanded the attendance of every person above the age of sixteen at some church; imposing the penaly of imprisonment against offenders, until they made an open submission and declaration of conformity. Such as rejected these conditions were to abjure the realm, and suffer death as felons, if they returned without the Queen's license. On this account many of them retreated to Holland, and some of them were executed for spreading seditious pamphlets. Some sects of the Puritans derived their names from their founders, particularly those called Brownists and Barrowists. The first of these was the origin of the Independents, and was established by a Mr Robert Brown about 1590. He was a man of learning, zeal, and ability, and a near relation of Treasurer Cecil; but he was, unhappily, of a contentious and sectarian temper, and as loose in his morals as he was strenuous in his doctrines. These he explained in a book entitled "a Treatise of Reformation;" and he inveighed bitterly against the Church of England, as having an antichristian government, superstitious sacraments, and a liturgy compounded of Paganism and Popery. After suffering much for his Independency, he removed with his followers to Middleburgh in Zealand; but he at length became disgusted with them, and, being persuaded to conform, received a benefice. He never preached, but died in prison at the age of 81, for an assault on a parish-constable; boasting, that he had been in thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day.

The Barrowists were so called from Henry Barrow, a layman, who was executed in 1593, for publishing seditious books against the Queen and State. He derived his doctrine principally from Thomas Cartwright, and maintained that the Church of England was no true church; that her ministers had no lawful calling, and that forms of prayer were blasphemous. A singular feature of some of the Puritans was a strong predilection for the law of Moses, by which they claimed for their ecclesiastical assemblies the power of deciding all matters pertaining to conscience, and enforced the duty of putting to death idolators or papists, adulterers, witches, demoniacs, sabbath-breakers, &c. They also denied the right of presentation to churches, and left the choice of ministers to general election.

But whilst dissenting doctrines and sects prevailed, the Queen appeared greatly inclined to some of the tenets of the Roman Church, and some of the splendid ceremonies of its ritual; since she reproved a divine who preached against the Real Presence, and is even said to have used prayers to the Virgin. Her own chapel, too, long retained the crucifix and lighted tapers, though it had been directed that they should be removed from all others by injunctions to the ecclesiastical visitors of 1559, when roods and reliques were broken in pieces and burned throughout the kingdom. Nor was she favourable to the marriage of the clergy; for the statute passed against it by Mary remained unrepealed until 1603, in the reign of James I.; and the licenses by which she reluctantly permitted ecclesiastical matrimony,

contained numerous restrictions to be observed, on pain of expulsion from orders. *

Towards the Puritans, Queen Elizabeth was violent in her opposition during the whole of her reign ; and beside the ordinary courts of her Bishops, the act of Supremacy, passed in 1558-59, gave rise to a new tribunal, called the Court of High Commission. This assembly, suspended and deprived ministers of their livings, by the Canon Law, on the solemn determination of three Commissioners, who had the power of administering an oath, by which the prisoner was obliged to answer all questions put to him by the Court. The Act of Uniformity for the Common Prayer, &c. followed, when 80 parish rectors, 50 prebendaries, 15 heads of colleges, 12 archdeacons, 12 deans, and 14 Bishops of the Romish faith, refused to conform : and it was also transgressed by such of the Puritan clergy as would not comply with those ceremonies, which the Queen would not consent to dispense with. Several of her Court, however, and even some of her most eminent ecclesiastics, such as Jewel, Grindal, Sandys, and Nowell, and afterwards the Earl of Leicester, and Secretary Walsingham, were favourable to the Puritans, as well as to leaving off the prescribed habits, and discontinuing the directed rites. On this account, some continued to wear the vestments, and others laid them aside ; some administered the sacrament kneeling, and others standing, or even sitting, and some baptised in a font with the sign of the cross, and others in a bason without it. This nonconformity was also farther encouraged, by several of the Bishops taking no notice of the omission of those ceremonies, for which

they themselves entertained no favour; whilst others who did not object to their use, were against enforcing their adoption. The Dissenters, too, soon began to evince a similar feeling, and rather to dislike the church-ceremonies being prescribed to them by authority, than the rites themselves. The Queen, however, was intent upon the suppression of this troublesome sect, as she was used to call it, and directed Archbishop Parker to proceed against it strictly; whilst the court-reformers affirmed, that a Prince has authority to amend all defects of religious worship in his own dominions. The Puritans, on the contrary, equally disowned all foreign authority over the church, and the power claimed by the Crown's supremacy, affirming it unreasonable that the national religion should be at the disposal of a single secular person. They took the oath, however, with the Queen's explanation, as only restoring the natural rights between Sovereign and subject. In this unsettled state of its religious establishment, the nation remained for some years; whilst the Puritan party was increasing alike in numbers and in resolution.

About 1565, upon a report that the habits enjoined to the clergy were generally neglected, with other of the prescribed forms, the Queen directed her Ecclesiastical Commissioners to devise some means of reducing them to an exact uniformity. Upon this a book called "Advertisements," was set forth by Archbishop Parker, containing orders for preaching, administering the sacraments, and the dress of ecclesiastical persons; to which were added certain protestations, to be made, promised, and subscribed by all for the future admitted into

the church. The Queen did not give her authority to these Advertisements, till some years after; but she issued a proclamation requiring conformity in the use of the vestments, under penalty of prohibition from preaching, and deprivation, which the Archbishop in several instances carried into effect. The London ministers were cited before him, and thirty-seven out of ninety-eight refused to promise compliance with the ordained ceremonies; whilst the younger students at Cambridge were so infected with the Puritan doctrines, that the famous Thomas Cartwright, and 300 more, threw off their surplices in one day, within the walls of one college.

The suspended ministers, finding that renewed applications to the Queen and her ministers were ineffectual, in 1566 published a treatise in their own vindication; in which they allege, that neither the Prophets of the Old Testament, nor the Apostles of the New, were distinguished by their garments; that such a distinction was not introduced into the Christian Church until long after the appearance of Antichrist; that the habits to which they objected had been connected with idolatry and sorcery, were an offence to weak Christians, and an encouragement to Papists; that they were only human appointments, and even if they had been indifferent, the imposition of them was an infringement of Christian liberty. And, finally, the suffrage of foreign divines was cited, who all condemned them, though they were not willing to hazard the dawning Reformation solely on their account.

As none of the points were conceded to the

Puritans, in 1566 they came to the resolution of separating from the parish churches, and assembling in private houses, or wherever they could enjoy their own form of worship. They debated, however, as to whether they should retain any of the Common Prayer; or, since they were parted from the English Church, whether they should not set up a new of order service more conformable to the Scriptures and the practice of foreign divines. The latter was decided upon, and the established Liturgy was entirely laid aside.

The first instance of prosecution of the Dissenters was in June 1567, when a party of more than a hundred was seized at Plummer's Hall, which they engaged on pretence of a wedding. Several of them were sent to prison, and were afterwards tried. The party, however, continued to increase, an effectual division was made in the English Church, and in 1568 some attempts were made to set up the new discipline. They also became so bold in their preaching, that Edward Deering declared the Queen to be "like an untamed heifer, that would not submit to God's law, but obstructed his discipline." John Knox too, had already exhorted the English Protestants not to conform to the Liturgy; declared the government of women unlawful; and had written to Elizabeth, declaring she had no legal title to the crown, and menacing her with destruction, if she did not conform to his views of church government. In Scotland, therefore, the Queen was declared an Atheist, and in 1571 the Puritans at once brought their cause before Parliament, by "a grave and ancient man of great zeal," named Strickland, who made a long speech on the abuses

of the Church Liturgy and the disposal of benefices. About the same time, both the Papists and Puritans, who had generally continued conformable during the twelve first years of the Queen, left their parish-churches and separated from the establishment. This division was strengthened in 1572, by the notorious Thomas Cartwright, a Professor of divinity at Cambridge, who then published his "Admonition to the Parliament," calling upon it to reform the churches. He possessed a good reputation for virtue and learning; his character was bold, haughty and zealous; and in doctrine he not only disclaimed all authority of the civil magistrate in the church, but declared that such persons must humbly submit to her power. In the same year, another attempt was made in the House of Commons to alter the rites and ceremonies of the church; when the Speaker declared it to be the Queen's pleasure that no bills should be offered concerning religion until the matter had been first debated by the clergy, upon which the design was abandoned. Upon the death of Archbishop Grindal in 1583, Dr John Whitgift was nominated to the See of Canterbury, when Elizabeth recommended to him the restoration of the Church-discipline, and the observance of the Act of Uniformity, in which she considered that his predecessor had been too remiss. Indéed he had been suspended nearly six years from his office, for not suppressing certain meetings called Prophesyings; being restored only on petition of the Convocation, a very short time before his death.

These assemblies were set up by the clergy in different diocesses, and were convened at different

times publicly to expound and discuss together particular texts of Scripture, under a moderator appointed by the Bishop, who concluded the debate by a summary of the arguments and his own determination. It is probable that both the people and pastors would have been benefitted by a moderate use of these exercises; but the effect of their prevailing spirit was almost entirely to put down preaching; since the Queen insisted that they should be discontinued, and that fewer licenses for preaching should be granted; for without a license no parish priest could deliver any discourse beside the regular homilies.

Whilst the nation was under the alarm of a Spanish invasion in 1588, the Puritans were attacking the English Episcopacy with numbers of anonymous pamphlets, of no merit, but filled with satirical violence and abuse. They were written principally by a society of ministers, &c. assuming the name of Martin Mar-Prelate; and appeared under such quaint titles as, "Have you any work for a Cooper?" and "More work for a Cooper," in allusion to what Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, had written in vindication of the Bishops and Church of England. They were printed at a press which was carried about the country, and moved as they were sought after; and the authors of these very rare tracts, called the Archbishop, "the Pope of Lambeth," "the Canterbury Caiaphas," "a Monstrous Antichristian Pope," &c. The Bishops were named "Petty Popes," "Petty Antichrists," &c., and the inferior clergy were designated "Popish Priests," "Monks," and "Ale-hunters." These bitter jeats were received with

great avidity and mirth by the people, but the authors were never positively discovered. Some persons, however, were taken up on suspicion of having written libellous pamphlets against the Queen and Bishops; of whom John Penry, a Welshman was hanged at St Thomas's Waterings, in 1593, and John Udal was long imprisoned. But severity was not the only weapon opposed to these pasquinades, since Thomas Nash, a man of a facetious and sarcastic disposition, employed his pen in discovering their absurdities in their own manner. His answers, which were written with great pleasantry and wit, put a more effectual stop to these libels than a more formidable proceeding perhaps could have done; whilst his titles were equally quaint and attractive as the books against which he wrote; as "An Almond for a Parrot," and "Pappe with a hatchet, alias a fig for my godson, or Cracke me this nutt, or a Country Cuffe, that is, a sound box of the ear for the idiot Martin, to make him hold his peace; written by one that dares call a dog, a dog."

About 1590, the Puritans established association in several counties, but chiefly in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, to set up their own form of government, under Cartwright. It consisted of a sort of general assemblies in synods, and classes held in particular shires, &c. on the Presbyterian system established in Scotland, the ministers composing them signing the Puritan book of discipline. Cartwright, however, and several others were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and sent to the Fleet: but the next year the cause was heard before the Star Cham-

ber, though the parties were at last dismissed upon bail.

In 1591, another, and still wilder leader of the Puritans, was executed for blasphemy. He was named William Hacket, and though of the most illiterate and meanest extraction, from the most abandoned wickedness he suddenly assumed the character of a saint. With him were associated Edmund Coppinger, and some others, who declared themselves chosen vessels, proclaimed war against the Bishops, and hesitated not at menacing the Queen herself, unless she promoted their schemes of reform. Hacket was at length announced by his followers, who were ministers of the Genevan Church, to be "the supreme monarch of the world, from whom all the Princes of Europe held their sceptres, and to be a greater prophet than Moses or John Baptist, even Jesus Christ, who was come with his fan in his hand to judge the world!" He was hanged, and Coppinger died in prison; but the contagion spread, and others were apprehended and convicted in the following year for writing and publishing seditious books and libels. Indeed the Puritans now denied the Queen's supremacy, held her liable to be excommunicated, when her subjects would be discharged from their allegiance, and considered it lawful to make war on her and on the state if she refused to set up the Geneva discipline. These principals were at length examined and answered, and the government of the Church of England nobly and learnedly defended, by the famous "Ecclesiastical Polity" of Richard Hooker, an obscure and singularly virtuous and modest parish priest of Boscomb near Salisbury. The first four

books appeared in 1594, and the fifth in 1597; and they form an immortal treasure of the most excellent church-government supported by the authority of Scriptures, schoolmen, and fathers, and all law, both civil and ecclesiastical. "They have in them," said Clement VIII. upon hearing only a small part of them, hastily translated into Latin, "such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall remain till the last fire shall consume all learning."

The Puritans, however, remained unconvinced; and even began to pretend to greater powers than before, as the working of miracles, and particularly the casting out of devils; but the Queen checked all attempts of their party in Parliament, by again forbidding its interference in ecclesiastical affairs.

In concluding the reign of Elizabeth, it should be observed, that though she favoured some parts of the Catholic ritual, the Puritans were not the only dissenters from the established church whom she endeavoured to suppress. The laws which Queen Mary had made, for settling the Popish religion, were repealed in 1559, when the acts of uniformity and supremacy were restored. They were refused, however, by a great number of the Romish clergy, and nearly all the bishops were sent to prison. In 1570, Pius V. finding her a supporter of the reformed faith, took the same course as the Puritans, and excommunicated her in 1569; which he followed by a bull in 1570, absolving her subjects from their allegiance, commanding them if they obeyed her, and declaring her to be deposed. Some unimportant insurrections followed, but in April 1571, the Papists were first placed in danger, by the Parliament

making it high treason for any one to be reconciled, or reconcile others to the Church of Rome. Like the Puritans, the Catholics generally continued conformable to the Establishment for about the first twelve years of the Queen, but they now began to forsake their parish churches; and in 1577, Cuthbert Maine, a priest, first suffered for procuring and publishing the bull already mentioned, and for preferring the Papal authority to the Queen's.

As the Catholics were now exposed to persecution in England, and measures taken to exclude them from entering the universities, or educating priests, to prevent their clergy from being wholly lost, the first Popish college was established at Douay in 1568, by Dr William Allen, afterwards Cardinal, who was then Professor of Divinity in that university. This was succeeded by another college founded at Rome by Gregory XIII., and by the Douay College being transplanted to Rheims in 1578; in all which places numerous priests were educated, and missionaries sent forth to propagate the Catholic faith. Of these latter, several came into England, particularly Robert Parsons, and Edmund Campion, two English Jesuits, and formerly students at Oxford. They are said to have taken several disguises; appearing sometimes like gentlemen, at others like soldiers, and at others like divines. The former was executed at Tyburn, December 1st, 1581; and a proclamation was issued, making it treason to harbour Jesuits or priests from the foreign seminaries. An act also appeared in the same year, making it treason to absolve the Queen's subjects from their allegiance, or withdraw them from their establish-

ed religion ; in the penalties of which all the parties were involved. In 1584, these statutes were strengthened by another, providing that all Popish ecclesiastics, natives of the Queen's dominions, coming to England, or remaining there, should be guilty of treason, with their supporters, &c. and the same crime was committed by sending relief to them. In 1593, the Catholics felt the power of that act, commanding all persons to attend some parish church ; and they were also prohibited from departing five miles from their habitations, on pain of forfeiting their goods, and the profits of their lands for life. Such is a very general view of the Queen's proceedings against this religion, more particulars and instances of which, may be seen in a very curious, but perhaps a prejudiced work, entitled *The Catholic Book of Martyrs*, by the Right Rev. Richard Challoner.

When James I. succeeded to the throne, the Puritans anticipated greater indulgence, as he had been educated in their own principles. The King, however, was now attached to the principles of the English church, though he had formerly expressed his gratitude to God, "that he belonged to the purest kirk in the world," declaring, that "as long as he should brook his life, he would maintain its principles." But when he succeeded to the English throne, he avowed the change which his sentiments had undergone about six years before ; acknowledged that hierarchy was the best supporter of the crown ; and that "where there was no Bishop, there would shortly be no King."

But notwithstanding the restless spirit and ar-

bitrary demands of the dissenters, the nation is certainly indebted to a petition which they presented to James I. in 1603-4, for a reform of what they considered abuses, for a review and improvement of the Liturgy, and the English translation of the Scriptures; since which period, the former has undergone but little alteration, and no authorized version has been attempted of the latter. As the Dissenters had now become rather a powerful party, King James appointed a conference to be held at Hampton Court, between four of their principal leaders, and a select number of Bishops and Divines of the established Church, himself being President. Their demands were far too unreasonable to be complied with, though their objections contributed to produce some excellent improvements in the Liturgy. The reform which they desired, was comprised under four heads; and consisted in desiring purity of Doctrine, a learned ministry, and amendment of Ecclesiastical government, and the Book of Common Prayer. The first occasioned but little debate; but the lawfulness of Church ceremonies was warmly contested, as well as the obligation of subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles, ordered by the Statute of Elizabeth in 1571. The conference occupied three days, Saturday, January 14th, Monday the 16th, and Wednesday the 18th; and the amount of the debate was, that a national Catechism should be framed, or rather that an explanation of the Sacraments should be added to the former one, which was done by Dr John Overall, Dean of St Paul's: that some doubtful expressions in the Articles should be explained: that midwives and laymen should not be permitted to administer private bap-

tism, even in cases of danger ; which arose from a supposition, that salvation was impossible without baptism ; and, finally, at the prayer of Dr John Reynolds, speaker of the Puritans, that there should be a new translation of the Scriptures made and published, wherein the Apocrypha should be distinguished from the Canonical books.

The last request could not have been made at a happier time for its complete fulfilment, than when the Sovereign himself was so extraordinary a scholar and divine. Accordingly, he commissioned 54 of the most learned men in the Universities, &c. to undertake the work ; and directed the Bishops to inquire for such persons as were skilled in the sacred languages, or had made the Scriptures their peculiar study. But before this noble labour commenced, seven of the appointed number were deceased ; and the remaining forty-seven divided into six companies, each of which was to meet at a different place, and to prepare a different portion of the Scriptures, though the whole of that portion was to be translated by every person in that company, and the several versions compared together. When any one company had finished its part, it was to be communicated to all the rest, that nothing might pass without general consent ; and if, upon review, any objection were made, the passage was to be returned for amendment, or, in case of any disagreement, it was to be referred at the end of the work to the general committee, consisting of one principal person from each company. The division of the Scriptures between these companies, was as follows.—The first met at Westminster ; it consisted of ten persons, and translated from Genesis to the end of the Second book

of Kings. The second met at Cambridge, consisted of eight members, and translated from the First book of Chronicles to the close of Solomon's Song. The third met at Oxford, and consisted of eight individuals, who translated the remainder of the Bible. The fourth assembled at Cambridge, included seven persons, and translated the Apocryphal books. The fifth met at Oxford, consisted of eight members, and translated the four Gospels, the Acts, and the Revelations; and the sixth met at Westminster, and included seven persons, who were appointed to translate the Epistles.

This translation was commenced in the spring of 1607, and occupied almost three years, when three copies of the whole Scriptures were perfected at Westminster, Oxford, and Cambridge. The foundation of this new version was directed to be the Bishops' Bible, though several others of the old English translations, as well as those in the continental languages, were also used as auxiliaries. When the work was finished, the general committee met at Stationers' Hall, and reviewed and polished it; a final revision being given to the whole by Dr Miles Smith, Bishop of Gloucester, who wrote the excellent Preface originally attached to this translation, and by Dr Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester. After long expectation and desire of the kingdom, the new version was published in folio, in 1611; and its excellency is, in every way, such as might have been expected from the care with which it was conducted, and the united labours of so many distinguished men. "It is," says Dr Gray, "a most wonderful and incomparable work, equally remarkable for the general fidelity of its construction, and magnificent simplicity

of its language." The subsequent editions of this invaluable volume are almost innumerable, and numerous interesting particulars of them may be found in the Rev. T. H. Horne's *Introduction to the Scriptures*, already cited, whence many of the preceding notices have been supplied; and in the Rev. Dr H. Cotton's *List of Editions of the Bible*, &c. Oxford, 1821, octavo. But if, of modern impressions, the most generally excellent were to be mentioned, there are few persons who would not instantly cite the Oxford edition by Dr G. Doyly and Bishop Mant, in three volumes quarto.

The objections which the Puritans made to the English Liturgy were so numerous, as at length to cause their entire rejection of it. For they held restriction to set forms of prayer to be against the liberty granted by God, though they did not positively dispute them being lawful, provided due liberty were allowed for prayers of the minister's composing before and after sermon. In the common Prayer-Book itself, they objected to the expression of, "with my body I thee worship," in the form of marriage; and in the burial-service, to the words, "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," pronounced over excommunicated persons and the worst of men. They also refused conformity to many of the ceremonies enjoined by the rubrics of the Liturgy, as the sign of the cross in baptism, and the administration of that sacrament by women in cases of sickness: the use of sponsors, as excluding parents from being sureties for the education of their own children; the churching of women; confirming of children when they can repeat the Lord's Prayer

and Catechism, by which they have a right to come to the communion, without any other qualification ; and the imposition of hands as a sign of Divine favour, which seemed to them to imply a sacramental efficacy in this ceremony : kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, whilst they considered that Christ gave it to his disciples rather in a posture of feasting than of adoration. Kneeling, they asserted, had no foundation in antiquity, but had been corrupted by the Papists into idolatry in the adoration of the Host ; adding, that if the posture were indifferent, it ought not to be imposed as an essential article in communion. They also disapproved of administering the sacrament in private, in cases of danger ; of bowing at the name of Jesus ; of giving the ring in marriage, which they considered as derived from the Papists, who made marriage a sacrament, and considered the ring as a holy symbol ; the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year ; the licensing of it for money ; and lastly, the wearing of vestments proper to divine service.

Such, too, may be considered as the principal features of controversy between the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters at the present time ; if to them be added, their assertion of a natural right which every man has to judge for himself, and make profession of that religion which he apprehends most agreeable to truth, as far as it does not affect the peace and safety of the government under which he lives, without having regard to education, the laws of the civil magistrate, or the decrees of councils, churches, or synods.

The alterations which were made in the English Liturgy at the Hampton Court Conference, were

but of little importance, and consisted chiefly in adding a petition in the Litany, and a collect in the Morning and Evening Prayer on behalf of the Royal Family, with the forms of Thanksgivings on several occasions. They were immediately made, published by the King's authority, and universally adopted, though they were never ratified by Parliament.

As any account of the formation and imposing the Scottish Common Prayer Book, cannot be considered as belonging to these volumes, which are devoted to England, it will be sufficient to notice, that some of the preceding improvements were introduced in it, but that little was done in the established Liturgy in the time of Charles I. Soon after the restoration of his son, however, the Presbyterian clergy requested another conference on the church-services, &c. which was appointed by a commission dated March 25th 1661, empowering twelve of the Bishops, and as many of the Presbyterian Divines, to consider of the Liturgy, and to make proper alterations; nine assistants being also appointed on each side, in case of absence of the principals. They met several times at the Savoy Palace in the Strand, but to little purpose; for the dissenters only reassembled the old scruples, which for nearly a century the Puritans had been raising against the Liturgy, to which they added several others; and demanded an entire alteration in the whole church establishment, that it might be remodelled upon the form of Geneva. The King, in his declaration on Ecclesiastical affairs, had proposed to the dissatisfied clergy that they should read only so much of the Liturgy as they did not disagree with; but in many of them

he could not prevail for a syllable, collect, or chapter, according to the Rubric. The famous Richard Baxter, who had great influence with his party, would not even allow that the Liturgy was capable of improvement, but composed and offered a new one of his own; yet, though he was undoubtedly a man of extensive learning, his form was without regard to any other, whether ancient or modern. The conference was therefore broken up, without any thing being effected, excepting that some particular alterations were proposed by the Episcopal Divines, which, the May following, were reconsidered and agreed to by the whole clergy in convocation. The principal of these were, the adoption of more appropriate lessons for certain days; the separation of occasional prayers from the Litany; alterations in the Collects, and the Epistles and Gospels, which were now taken from the new version of the Scriptures; and additions of the offices for Adult Baptism, the Sea, and the King's Martyrdom and Restoration. There were also several other less material variations; and the present excellent Preface was composed by Dr Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln. The revision of the Common Prayer-book, thus brought to a conclusion, was subscribed by the whole Clergy in convocation, on Friday, December 20th, 1661. In the March following it was brought to the House of Lords, when the Parliament passed an Act for its establishment; and the Lord Chancellor Clarendon was directed to return thanks to the clergy employed in it. The only subsequent addition to the book of Common Prayer, is the form of Prayer and Thanksgiving used on the anniversary of the Sovereign's accession. Such a

service, however, had commonly been used in England since the Reformation; and particular forms have been appointed ever since the reign of Charles I., though the office was then disregarded until that of James II. in 1685. Under William III. it was again omitted, but it was in part supplied by the great additions made to the office for the 5th of November, to celebrate his arrival on that day. On the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, the time was once more ordered to be observed; and a form of prayer, partly new and partly composed of that for James II., was prepared, which is nearly the same with the one in present use.

Under King James I., both the Puritans and the Catholics were still treated with great severity, and many of the former were obliged to leave the kingdom for Holland, whence considerable numbers emigrated to America in 1620. They now began to be divided into "Puritans in the Church," who were comparatively few, and "Puritans in the State," being such as opposed the government of King James; and the two classes uniting, they formed the majority of the nation. The success which attended the first emigrants who settled in that part of America, afterwards called New Plymouth, induced great numbers more to withdraw themselves from the authority of the bishops and Court, and follow them in 1629; which was the foundation of a second great colony named Massachusetts Bay. The Society of Connecticut was formed by emigrants of the same class in 1636, and that of New Haven in the year following, by those who fled from the prosecutions of

Archbishop Laud, the Star-chamber, &c. Afterwards, when they were prevented from transporting themselves to New-England, many of them removed with their families into the Netherlands.

Some change, however, appears to have taken place in the reign of James I., in several of the members of the church of England. For towards the end of Elizabeth's time, there arose a party which first endeavoured to alter, and then to overthrow, the established doctrines of predestination, perseverance, free-will, effectual grace, and the extent of Christ's redemption. The Episcopal clergy began to be inclined on these abstract subjects, towards some of those doctrines afterwards propagated by Arminius, whilst the Puritans adhered rigidly to Calvin. In the reign of James I. &c. several of the established clergy adopted the same principles, and all the supporters of Calvinism were called Doctrinal Puritans. At length the name was attached to all whose worship and conversation were more than commonly serious; so that a Puritan was a man of severe morals, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a non-conformist to the ceremonies and discipline of the church, though he did not entirely separate from it.

Under Charles I., the growth of Arminianism soon became a public question, since it was debated in two conferences of the clergy in 1625; and in 1628, the settlement of the national religion was brought in a seditious manner before the House of Commons. The zeal of Archbishop Laud to bring it into the English church, by adding some ceremonies and enforcing all, gave many persons, especially the Puritans, to believe, that he intended to introduce the Romish religion. He

commenced his measures about 1634, and in 1687, the laws of uniformity were enforced against dissenters; with a proclamation and order of council, restraining them from transporting themselves to America, without license from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The Parliament which met in 1640 resolved, however, to check these innovations, and the severities by which they were supported, as artifices by which the regal power was to be made entirely arbitrary. But even in this party there were some concealed Presbyterians, who rather aimed at altering the government of the church, on pretence that the bishops had made an ill use of their power; and to that end were forward to speak against the grievances of the nation, dwelling chiefly on those which concerned its religion. The question of the bishops' right of sitting in Parliament soon came to be debated, and numerous petitions were presented against Episcopal government; and in June the Commons voted to abolish all deans, &c. the lands being employed for the advancement of learning: and that no bishop should have a vote in Parliament, any judicial power in the Star-chamber, or bear any authority in temporal matters. The same Parliament also proceeded to bring in a bill for abolishing the Cross in baptism, the Surplice, bowing at the name of Jesus, &c.

They set up lectures, and extemporary prayers, and exercises or sermons preached during the week; though the Puritans at one time nearly banished psalm-singing, excepting at the siege of York in 1644. It was however, a Protestant practice, which began about 1559; and sometimes 6000 persons would sing together at St

Paul's Cross. In September 1641, the Commons appointed the pulling down of rails about communion tables, and removing them ; and Sir W. Dugdale, in his *Short View of the Troubles in England*, Oxf. 1681, folio, gives a melancholy account of the spoliation of churches and cathedrals, committed by the Parliamentary soldiers. Several were turned into stables and guard-rooms, having their organs broken, their fonts defiled, their Bibles and service-books torn in pieces and polluted ; and sometimes the troopers dressed themselves in the clerical vestments, and rode through the streets in them. In one place, the altar was turned into a meat-block, and in others, a horse and a calf wrapped in linen, were baptised at the fonts, with the church ceremonies and the sign of the cross. The spoliation of the English churches, was succeeded by a formidable attempt to establish Presbytery ; when the reformers endeavoured to erect what they considered a purely Scriptural edifice on the ruins of Episcopacy. In June 1643, the Lords and Commons elected 120 persons to meet at Westminster, under the title of the Synod, or Assembly of Divines ; and that it might bear a more perfect resemblance to the Scottish kirk, thirty laymen, ten Lords and twenty commoners, were voted as additional members. Their meetings and debates, however, were directed and confirmed by Parliament, and an oath was taken on admission to secure fidelity and secresy. The majority of this assembly consisted of Puritan ministers, desirous of establishing the Calvinistic church-government ; for though some of the Episcopal clergy were summoned, their consciences or their loyalty prevented their attendance : but the

Presbyterians were violently opposed by a small, but learned party of those Independents who had fled to Holland from Archbishop Laud, and who equally denied the power of Synods, disapproved of any exterior church-government, and demanded almost universal liberty of conscience. The latitude of their principles soon increased their numbers, and the consequent discord which divided the assembly prevented its effecting any thing of importance, but a Directory for public worship and religious ceremonies; and the compiling of the Shorter Catechism, still used in Scotland, being approved of by the General Assembly in 1648.

The ecclesiastical establishment of England now daily sunk into greater desolation and contempt. In 1644 Christmas-day was ordered to be kept as a fast; whilst the Common Prayer, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and even the Ten Commandments, were voted useless after the King's martyrdom. It soon became uncommon to find a priest of the Church of England in a parish-pulpit, most of them being filled either by Independents, who at length became the prevailing party, or fanatics, laymen, and mechanics. The feasts of the church, too, were no longer allowed to be kept; and the ejected ministers could hardly even perform the rites in private in safety, though some of them scattered through the city, held the great festivals, and administered the Sacrament in obscure houses, and in some cases the ruling powers connived at the use of the Liturgy. The 25th of December 1655, however, was appointed as the last day of this indulgence; since Cromwell issued a proclamation, that thenceforth none of the Church of England should dare to preach, administer the

Sacraments, or teach schools, on pain of imprisonment or exile. On this melancholy occasion the amiable Evelyn attended Dr Wild, who preached to his weeping auditory "the funeral-sermon of preaching;" but he subsequently went to receive the sacrament at a private house in Fleet Street, where even the hazard of the time could not prevent "a great meeting of zealous Christians." Once, however, at the very moment of their communicating in Exeter Chapel, they were surrounded and seized by soldiers, who confined them till some of the Council came from Whitehall. The English Church, it was acknowledged, existed now only in a few private families, where the Liturgy was still read, and the established clergy was generally in great distress; but the dissenters were not wholly triumphant, since the Independents had oppressed the Presbyterians, and they were divided into several new sects, almost equally contentious.

At length the King's recall put some stop to the confusion, the Liturgy was restored to the Church in July 1660, and the Presbyterian preachers attended Charles II, with an offer of duty and affection from themselves and their society. They assured him, that they had always wished him well; that they had inculcated allegiance towards the sovereign; were no enemies to moderate Episcopacy; and only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them as were generally acknowledged to be indifferent, and were considered by some as unlawful. After the Restoration in 1662, the name of Puritan was changed into that of Protestant Non-conformist, which comprehended Presbyterians, Independents, Anabap-

tists, and Quakers. At this time passed the Act of Uniformity; by which all who refused to observe the rites, and subscribe to the doctrines of the Church of England, were entirely excluded from its communion, and ecclesiastics were to lose their offices. The act was to take effect from St Bartholomew's day, August 24th, when about 2000 of the Genevan clergy were ejected from their offices; of whom a most particular account will be found in Samuel Palmer's *Non-conformist's Memorial*, Lond. 1775, 8vo. 2 vols. Many of these persons, however, had previously evicted the loyalist clergy; several others were seditious preachers; and numbers more were extremely ignorant. Those who left their preferments for conscience-sake, were but an inconsiderable part of them; and it is supposed that they were sufficiently recompensed by the contributions of their brethren. From this period until the time of William III., the Non-conformists were in a precarious and fluctuating situation, being sometimes involved in calamity and persecution, and at others enjoying some intervals of tranquillity, according to the changing spirit of the court and ministry, but never entirely free from fears and perplexities.

The design of James II. for re-establishing Popery, was, however, to them productive of some rejoicing; since he prepared for it by a Declaration, published April 4th 1687, allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, suspending and dispensing with the penal laws and tests, and even with the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. This procured him addresses of thanks, and professions of loyalty from all the Dissenters; but the Church of England had little share in the privilege, since

an ecclesiastical commission had been issued, by which seven persons were invested with a full and unlimited power over the whole establishment. In April 1688 appeared a second Declaration for liberty of conscience, which was commanded to be read in all churches after divine service; but as the established clergy almost universally disapproved of these approaches to the Romish religion, they at once resolved to disregard and oppose it. To effect this Dr Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd, Bishop of St Asaph, Kenn, of Bath and Wells, Turner, of Ely, Lake, of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney, of Bristol, signed and presented a petition to the King, declaring that they could not read his Declaration with respect either to their own consciences or the Protestant religion. The King's subsequent anger, and the firmness, imprisonment, trial and acquittal of the prelates, are events which are probably better known than any in the ecclesiastical annals of England; and, therefore, it would be superfluous to attempt relating them in this sketch.

The reign of William III. was decidedly favourable to the Dissenters; in April 1689, the oaths of supremacy and allegiance were exchanged; and in May the Act, commonly called the Toleration, was passed, almost without opposition, which indemnified the Protestant Non-conformists, excepting Socinians, from the penal effects of the Act of Uniformity. In this reign, also, some attempts were made for reviewing the Liturgy in favour of the Dissenters, though nothing was effected; but when William abolished Episcopacy and restored Presbytery in Scotland, the established clergy of England were in some fear for their

own church. The only very remarkable feature, however, in this period of the history of its religion, was that dispute in the establishment, about 1689, which produced the two famous parties, called "Non-Jurors," or "High-Churchmen," and "Jurors," or "Low-Churchmen." The former originally consisted of those who refused to acknowledge the title of William III. to the crown of Great Britain, under the belief that King James II., though excluded, was still their rightful sovereign. The name was given them because they entertained high notions of the power and dignity of the Church; whilst the other party was more moderate towards the Dissenters, and in their notions of ecclesiastical authority. There were, however, several characteristic principles belonging to the former class, by which they may be more particularly distinguished. These are the doctrine of Passive Obedience, as it was called, or that it is never lawful for the people to resist the Sovereign; that the hereditary succession to the throne is of divine right, and cannot be altered; that the church is subject to God alone; the Bishops deposed by William III. remained Bishops for their lives, those who were substituted being usurpers; that these usurpers were rebels in the state and schismatics in the church, as were all who held communion with them; and that this schism will fall upon the heads of those who do not repent and return to the church.

Such then is a very general historical view of the religion of England, from the ages of its heathen darkness, down to the settlement of its national church; for as this present sketch can embrace

only its most prominent features, its long tranquillity renders any farther account of it almost impracticable. The fullest particulars, however, of matters which the limits of this work excluded, both in the ancient and later history of the Established Church, and the several dissenting sects that have appeared in it, may be found in the following authorities, which have been used for compiling the preceding pages. Dr Henry's *History of Great Britain*, Chapter II. of every book; *Acts and Monuments of matters most special happening in the Church*, by John Fox, Lond. 1684, folio, 3 vols.; Dr Thomas Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, Lond. 1655, folio; Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, edit. Oxford, 6 vols. 8vo.; *an Ecclesiastical History of England*, by Jeremy Collier, Lond. 1708-14, 2 vols. folio; Rev. John Strype's *Annals of the Reformation, &c.* Lond. 1709-31, folio, 4 vols.; and his *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Lond. 1721, 3 vols. folio; *Origines Ecclesiasticæ, or Antiquities of the English Church*, by Joseph Bingham, Lond. 1726, 2 vols. folio; and Dr John Lawrence Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, edit. by Dr Coote, 1811, 8vo. On the Catholic part, see the curious *Church History of England*, by Charles Dodd, Bruxelles, 1737, 3 vols. folio; and the history, tenets, and sects and singularities of the Dissenters, will be found in the Rev. Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans*, Lond. 1754, 2 vols. 4to. *The History and Antiquities of the Dissenting Churches*, by Walter Wilson, Lond. 1808, 4 vols. 8vo.; Thomas William's *Dictionary of all Religions*, 8vo; and J. P. Malcolm's *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London*, Lond. 1811, 4to, volume the first.

It remains only to be added, that Dissenters are now free from their former oppressions, by a confirmation of the Toleration Act passed in 1779; and that Catholics, though still under some restrictions, were set at liberty from the penal effects of former statutes by an Act for their relief passed in 1791.

ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE
HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

GOVERNMENT AND LAWS OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

**GOVERNMENT AND LAWS UNDER THE BRITONS,
ROMANS, SAXONS, AND DANES.**

FROM the doctrines, ceremonies, and polity of the Church, the transition to those of the State is natural and proper : for after the ordinances of Religion, those of Civil government are the most ancient, honourable, and powerful institutions of society.

The most ancient government of England was Monarchical, having probably been such long before the time of the Roman Invasion ; the whole

island being divided into numerous small nations and tribes, each of which possessed one king, and sometimes more. From the martial and independent character of the people, and the authority of the Druids, it is presumed, that the power of these princes was very limited, their principal prerogative being that of levying forces for war; though it does not appear they could either declare hostilities, or undertake an expedition, without the consent of a council of the Nobles and Druids. Thus, when Ambiorix, king of the Eburones in Gaul, excused himself to Cæsar for having assaulted his camp, he asserted that it was done by the State's compulsion, his government being such, that his people had as much power over him as he had over the nation. It is also believed, that the command of these princes was still less in time of peace; that some of them possessed more than others; and that those of the northern and uncultivated parts of Britain, were such as were endowed with the least authority. They were, however, continually disputing with each other for superiority, and the success of the Roman arms is attributable to their discords. For, although on the first arrival of Cæsar, they elected Cassibelan to be the chief conductor of the war, B. C. 54, they soon became divided; and Tacitus adds, that they were swayed by several chiefs, influenced by the factions of their leaders. If, by marriage or conquest, a prince was lord of more than one kingdom, at his decease they were divided between his children; but the order of succession was not always strictly observed, since the issue might be disinherited; a wife or daughter might succeed in

default of a son; and if two sons were left, the possessions were distributed. The revenues of the British kings are but little known, though government-taxes were levied and paid by all excepting the Druids; and the princes claimed a large portion of spoils taken in battle. When Caractacus was taken to Claudius, A. D. 50, these spoils were carried before him into Rome; from which it is learned that they consisted of horses and arms, rings, bracelets, and chains of gold.

These rulers, however, had no influence in the executive government; the making, explaining, and enforcing the laws being possessed by the Druids, who taught that they were to be regarded as the commands of the Gods. Hence criminals were sacrificed to them, and not to the justice of their country; and all violations were regarded as offences against religion, wholly unconnected with either the King or the State.

The administration of justice also was conducted by the Druids, who inflicted all punishments; and they supported their authority principally by the terrors of excommunication, after which no one could either die with hope, or live with tranquillity. In those cases, however, which were too difficult for the judgment of the ordinary Druids, there remained something like an appeal to the yearly general meeting of the order; when the Arch-druid examined all their proceedings, and pronounced his final decree. It is uncertain in what part of Britain this assembly was held, though some have supposed that it was in the vast structure of Stonehenge; and that the many circles of stone which are yet to be found in Hag-

land, indicate the situations of provincial Druid courts.

With respect to the laws of this period, the summary of what is known is, that oaths of different kinds were administered, the inhabitants of every nation having a method of taking them peculiar to themselves; that in cases of suspicion without proof of guilt, some kind of torture is said to have been used to procure confession; that polygamy was not permitted, though the women are suspected of having been extremely unchaste; and that husbands and fathers had authority over their wives and children, whom they might even put to death.

1. *Roman Government of Britain.*—It was not until the time of Claudius (A. D. 43 to A. D. 53) that any important change was made in the British States. The power of the Romans was established by alliances with such of the British Princes as would join them; but whilst they appeared to extend their dominions, they actually dispossessed them of their real authority, under pretence of protecting the nation, and preserving the peace of the country. Their next proceeding was to plant colonies of veteran soldiers, the first being at Camulodunum, supposed to be Colchester, about A. D. 44. The influence of the Druids was then removed, by the whole order being destroyed, as it has already been related; and the Roman laws, being introduced by degrees, every part of the island experienced a perfect and an entire change. The British government was now vested in an Imperial Legate, or President, who had power to direct the whole war, manage the Roman troops, and direct all civil affairs; but as

these Presidents subsequently abused their power, and offended the natives, the Emperor Hadrian abridged their authority, by an edict passed about A. D. 131. Another Roman governor was the Imperial Procurator, who received and conducted the revenues, and sometimes acted as a spy between the Provincial Governor and the Emperor. When they agreed together, however, they oppressed the colonists, and alike defrauded the Emperor and the State. When Constantine established a Prefect in Gaul, he instituted, under him, an officer called the Vicar of Britain, whose authority extended over all the Roman provinces. His residence was chiefly in London, where he had a court, with numerous officers; and to him might appeals be made from Provincial Governors, and from him to the Prefect of Gaul. He was entitled His Excellence, and his official badge was a book of instructions in a green cover, with the triangular form of the island, and five castles representing its provinces.

Until the time of Severus, the Roman possessions in Britain formed only one province, but about A. D. 208, he divided them into two, and at length, when they comprised the whole tract of country lying between the two walls, they were parted into the five following:

1. *Flavia Caesariensis*, extending from the Land's-end in Cornwall to the North Foreland in Kent, and comprising six nations and ten modern counties.

2. *Britannia Prima*, enclosed by the Thames, the British Ocean, the Humber, and the Severn; it comprised five nations and seventeen modern counties.

3. *Britannia Secunda*, enclosed by the Bristol Channel and the Severn, St George's Channel, the Irish Sea and *Britannia Prima*; it comprehended four nations and eighteen of the western counties.

4. *Maxima Caesariensis*, enclosed by the Humber, the German Ocean, the Irish Sea, and the Wall of Severus; it contained two nations and five of the northern modern counties.

5. *Valentia*, the most Northern Province of Britain, established by Theodosius A. D. 369, and called in honour of the Emperor Valens. It contained all the country between the Walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius, which was inhabited by several British nations.

Over each of these provinces were established governors, courts, and officers; the northern two being of Consular dignity, but the others were only entitled Presidents. In this subdued state, the Britons had their arms taken from them; and such of their youth as were fit for war, were impressed and sent over to the continent. But the better to secure their conquests, the Romans erected numerous fortresses in the most advantageous parts of the island, filling them with soldiers, and maintaining a strong standing army, which was a great oppression to the inhabitants. Indeed, in the greatest of their power, it is supposed to have consisted of 19,200 foot and 1700 horse.

The British taxes raised by the Romans, appear to have been readily paid, whilst they were humanely and equitably levied. A duty on grain, however, they were frequently obliged to carry to a considerable distance, to places appointed for its reception; but this was remitted by *Agricola* in

the very first year of his government, about A. D. 78. It is supposed, however, that as much corn was still collected as might be sufficient for the army, a certain sum being taken for the remainder. The Britons also paid a tax for their orchards, which was of greater amount, from there being less labour in the cultivation; and a fifth of the produce was generally exacted. On pasture-lands was an imposition called *Scriptura*, for the payment of which, the owners had sometimes to sell their cattle, or procure the aid of the wealthy Romans. Seneca, alone, is reported to have lent the Britons 320,000*l.* on such occasions; which being rigorously demanded when they were unable to pay, was one of the principal causes of Boadicea's revolt, in A. D. 61. It is also supposed, that certain pasture-lands were appropriated for the forage of the Roman soldiers. The speech of Queen Boadicea to the Britons, before her fatal battle with Suetonius, notices other taxes imposed by the Romans. "Have they not deprived us," said she, "of our most valuable possessions, and do we not pay grievous taxes for what is left? Besides all those heavy impositions on our estates and goods, are not our persons taxed? Do we not pay for the very heads on our shoulders? and Why should I dwell on the exactions from those who are living? Even the dead are oppressed with taxes; for you all know that we are forced to pay for the bodies of our deceased friends." Such was the Roman policy to keep this nation in a subdued state; and it is not at all improbable, that the numerous provincial duties laid on houses, pillars, hearths, &c., were at some period or other imposed in Britain.

The effect of this government was fatal to the country, since it overthrew its ancient customs, expatriated its youth, and left it, A. D. 421, in ignorance of arms, open to its rapacious foes, in a state worse than even its servitude. The common miseries of the inhabitants, obliged them, in some degree, to restore their former government; but they were either unhappy in their choice of kings, or so capricious as to dethrone them, and elect others who were worse. At this time, A. D. 422, they were invaded by the Scots and Picts, when they summoned a general council, in which Vortigern, Prince of the Silures, who appears to have had the principal sway, advised the calling in of the Saxons, who soon after completed the ruin of the British nation.

2. *Anglo-Saxon Government, Constitution and Laws.*—The Cyning, or King, who was at the head of the polity of this nation, had a real and regal rank and power, which elevated him far above his subjects, in wealth, influence, and authority, though he was equally removed from absolute despotism. Like the British chiefs, however, the Saxon sovereigns appear originally to have been War-Kings, whose dignity was conferred on them for life; for the office of Cyning was bestowed by election of the Witenagemote, or General Council, which, in some degree, had the power of controlling him. In electing their Prince, the members of this assembly generally observed the natural order of succession, though they sometimes departed from it, and gave the crown to a collateral descendant. At the Cyning's Coronation, before he was anointed or crowned, he promised his subjects, in the name of Christ, to preserve the

Church of God and Christian people in true peace ; to forbid rapacity and all iniquities in every condition, and to command equity and mercy in all judgments. This oath was taken by Ethelred II. in 978, and is supposed to be the oldest now extant : the ceremonies used at the inauguration of the Anglo-Saxon and English Sovereigns, will be found described in Mr Arthur Taylor's *Glory of Regality*, Lond. 1820, 8vo ; and in Mr Turner's excellent *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. pp. 147—152, from which work the present sketch of their constitution is principally abstracted.

It is probable that the privileges and prerogatives of the ancient Anglo-Saxon Cyning were procured by their intellect, their valour, or their virtue ; since as generals of the nation, they possessed little more than military command. The establishment of Christianity was also the establishment of the throne ; and in the year 600, in the laws of Æthelbert, the first baptized sovereign in England, offences against the Cyning are estimated—by that peculiarity of the Saxon law which set a pecuniary value upon every person,—to be about four times the worth of a forfeiture to an Eorle, and nine times the amount to be paid to a Ceorl, or countryman. He also received a certain mulct, paid for misdemeanours, and his style was regal, like that of succeeding sovereigns ; as, “ I, Ina, King of the West-Saxons,” about A. D. 688 ; “ I Æthelbald, by divine dispensation, King of the Mercians,” in A. D. 716. The Popes, too, occasionally addressed them by the titles of “ your glory,” “ most glorious,” “ your highness,” and “ your excellency.” The precincts of the royal

court appear to have been very early honoured and protected, since, if a quarrel took place in a church, it was redeemable by 120 shillings; but if any fought in the King's house, he was to forfeit all his property, and it rested with the sovereign to decide if his life should be saved or not. A very ancient Saxon constitution provides, that this *par-rugia*, or privilege of the King's palace, shall extend 8 miles, 3 furlongs, 3 acres, 9 feet, 9 palms, and 9 barley-corns beyond his palace-gate.

The prerogatives and powers of the Anglo-Saxon Cyning, were great and numerous. He was to be prayed for, and voluntarily honoured; his word was to be taken without an oath; he had the privilege of pardoning in certain cases; he had the lordship of the free; and could either sell over sea, fill, or take the established value of a freeman's thief; he could remit or mitigate penalties; he had a tribunal for robbers, and his tribunal was the last court of appeal; he was the executive superintendent of the general laws, and usually received the fines attached to crimes; the Jews were his property, he had some control over most of the officers and dignitaries of the kingdom; he also called together the Witenagemots, and summoned the national forces which he commanded. "The King," says the book of Saxon Constitutions, "should be in the place of a father to his people; and in vigilance and guardianship, a viceroy of Christ, as he is called. It belongs to him and all his family to love Christianity, and to shun heathenism. He should respect and defend the church, and tranquillize and conciliate his people."

by right laws; and by him happiness will be increased. He loves right, and avoids what is not so. The property of the later Saxon sovereigns, who governed the whole realm, was very considerable; and consisted of lands held by right of their crown and dignity. Their revenues were the rents and produce of these lands; customs in the sea-ports; tolls in the markets, and in the cities on sales; duties and services to be paid in the burghs, or to be commuted for money; wites, or penalties and forfeitures which the law attached to certain crimes; heriots, or acknowledgments of his Lordship, from his Thanes, which were first added by Canute; and various other sources of profit, derived from circumstances provided for in the laws.

The military force, of which the Cyning was the commander, consisted of a certain number of soldiers to be sent from a certain quantity of land, to serve for a limited time on any particular expedition. Thus, Berkshire furnished one soldier from every five hides, each of which paid him four shillings for two months. The penalty for neglecting this summons was a heavy fine; and death, with forfeiture of all the offender's property, for quitting it without license: but at the same time no one could go upon it without the King's permission. It does not appear that the adventurer Hengist assumed the title of Cyning, until about A. D. 455, after the death of Horsa, before which he had been only styled Heretoch, or general. Kent, where the Saxons originally landed, was the first district which they entitled a kingdom; but as Britain appeared far more attractive, than the northern nations, and its inhabitants were

indolent and disunited, many more Saxons came into the country, and divided England into those seven realms which constituted what is called the Heptarchy, though in reality these were eight kingdoms. They consisted of Mercia, where the people called Angles had chiefly settled; it included 16 counties, and had Leicester for its metropolis. Northumberland was also inhabited by the Angles; it was originally composed of two kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira, of which Bamborough and York were the capitals. Wessex comprised seven counties and the Isle of Wight; its chief city was Winchester. Sussex included only itself and Surrey; the principal town was Chichester. Kent had Canterbury for its capital. Essex contained itself, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire, London being the chief city; and East Anglia had Danwich for a metropolis, and included three counties with the Isle of Ely. The kindred race of petty sovereigns which governed the Anglo-Saxons, was employed, during the next three centuries, in carrying on a perpetual war, either on each other, or indiscriminately on the original inhabitants; until in A. D. 828, a royal warrior and statesman united all the factions, and erected a formidable throne on the ruins of the Octarchy.

This was Egbert, who was called home from the Court of Charlemagne in 800, to become King of Wessex, the throne of which was vacant by the murder of Brithric, the last sovereign, and the deposition of his Queen Eadburga by her subjects, who declared that there should be no more Queens of their nations. Egbert was the last representative of the Saxon royal family, and a few

successful battles, the most important of which was fought at Ellendune, near Salisbury, in 823, procured for him all the eight realms; and in a few years he took the title of King of England, which was confirmed by the Witenagemote. Still, however, he enjoyed uncontrolled authority only over Wessex, Kent, Sussex, and Essex; since he left nominal princes to govern the other districts, though they were tributaries to him as sovereign of the country, since the Danish rule was not entirely destroyed until the accession of Æthelstan in 924.

The superior orders of the Anglo-Saxons, included the church-establishment, and the nobility. The former comprised archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, who were dignitaries, and sat in the Witenagemote; but there were also other degrees of the clergy as deans, canons, archdeacons, priests, parochial rectors, &c., and the monks and nuns of the various cloisters. The highest ranks of nobility were accessible to the lowest classes of life; since its members represented rather the territorial property, than the honours of the country. The titles consisted of Ealdorman, Holde, Hamsath, Earl, and Thegn; which were personal and not hereditary, though some part of the nobility were distinguished by their birth, others by their lands, and others by their offices. The Ealdorman was the highest officer in the kingdom; and in the time of Æthelstan, 925, there flourished another of the same name, who is styled Ealdorman and half-king. It was one of the most ancient Saxon titles, which was held by the chief of a shire, who ranked with a bishop, was a member of the Witenagemote, presided with the

Bishop at all county-courts, and sometimes led the people of the shire to battle. The Ealdorman possessed great civil powers in the administration of justice, but he lost his dignity if he connived at the escape of a thief, unless the King pardoned him; to draw weapons before him incurred a penalty of 100 shillings, and of 120 to fight before him in a county-meeting. The dignity of an Eorl appears as early as the laws of Ethelbert, who died in 616; it also comprehended the military and command of a province, and as the precise distinction between this title and the preceding cannot now be determined, it has been supposed that they were nearly the same, the former being at length superseded by the latter. There appear, however, to have been some degrees, even in the rank of Eorl; from the expressions "the Great Earl," and "the Ruler of Earls," which occur in the Saxon Chronicle. This rank was not made hereditary, until the close of the Saxon monarchy; but the heriot, or fine paid to the King, on the death of an Eorl, was fixed at four horses saddled, and four not saddled, four helmets, four coats of mail, eight spears and shields, four swords, and 200 mancusa of gold. A Thegn, and even a Corl, might arrive at the rank of an eorldom. The Heretoch was the leader of an army, and the Helde is an uncertain kind of dignity, of a greater rank than the Thegn. The Gerefa, Reeve, Scire-reeve, or Sheriff, were officers inferior to the Eorl or Eoldormen, appointed by the Government to various duties, as the Hef-Gerefa, the Wic-Gerefa, before whom purchases of the Kentishmen in London were to be made,

unless they had good witnesses; and the *Porte-Gerefa*, or Gerefa of the Gate, who was to witness all sales without the gate. The judicial duties of the Gerefa were numerous and extensive. They were established in every burgh, and summoned and attended on the county courts, where they were to do justice, and deliver up the offenders to punishment. They were to take bail or security in their respective shires, for every one to keep the peace; the which if they omitted, they lost their office and the King's friendship, and forfeited to him 120 shillings. In the case of robbery, the Gerefa in whose district it had happened, was to provide persons to apprehend the thief and avenge the injury; he was also generally to secure malefactors, that they might be brought to justice with their accusers, and supply food to such prisoners as had no relations to support them. The Anglo-Saxon *Thegns* were superior freemen, next in rank below the *Ealdormen* and *Eorls*; and to possess the dignity, it was essential that the person should have five hides of his own land,—each being supposed to consist of 120 acres, or as much as one plough-team could till,—a church, a kitchen, a bell-house, a great gate, a judicial seat in the great gate, and an office in the King's hall; which possibly meant a seat in the *Witenagemote*. There were two orders of *Thegns*, the superior being called "*King's Thegns*," and were perhaps afterwards the same as *Barons*; their heriot was half that of an *Eorl*; whilst the heriot of a middling *Thegn*, or *Knight*, was only one horse, with his caparisons and arms, which particularly marks the distinction between the two ranks. The latter class appears to have been nu-

acrons, since thirty-three were elected in every borough as witnesses, and twelve in every small borough and hundred. The Thegn was also a judicial magistrate, and if he decided unjustly he was to forfeit 120 shillings, unless he could swear he knew no better; in which case he lost his rank, without he bought it again of the King. A thief taking refuge with a Thegn, had three days asylum; and the Wera, or personal value of a Thegn, was equal to that of six ceorls, or 1200 shillings. This title was also given to the King's minister, who is called "King's Thegn," and over whom no one had any jurisdiction but the sovereign. He attended the monarch in his expeditions, and had a Thegn under him, for the name seems to have been given to domestic officers, especially to those of the royal household; as the dish-thegn, the horse-thegn, and the bregal-thegn, or wardrobe-keeper. The Anglo-Saxon King also retained at his court a chamberlain, chancellor, secretaries, a cup-bearer, and inferior servants for grinding, smith's work, &c.

As a counterpart to the officers of this Court, may be mentioned those retained by Hoel Dha, King of North-Wales, whose ancient statutes have been already referred to; since his household is supposed to have been formed on the model of the ancient British establishment. The first of his 34 great officers was the Pentetu, or Mayor of the Palace; part of whose duty was to entertain such as had been dismissed from the royal board for misbehaviour, and to intercede for their restoration; he was always a prince of the blood, and his salary was 34 yearly, beside perquisites. The Chaplain was next, and then the Diadain, or Steward,

who provided food and drink; was master of the ceremonies and taster. One of his claims was as much plain ale from every cask, as he could reach with his whole middle finger immersed; spiced ale with the second joint of the same; and mead to the first joint. The Great Falconer was fourth in order, and he was limited to three draughts of strong liquor at the Royal table, lest intoxication should lead him to forget his hawks; when this officer succeeded in his sport, the Prince rose to meet him, and sometimes held his stirrup. The Harper held the eighth place, and the Gosdegwr, or Silentiary, the ninth; whose office it was to prevent unbecoming noises in the great hall, by striking the columns with his wand. The tenth was the Pencynydd, or Great Huntsman; one of whose privileges was to swear only by his "horn and hounds." The Mead-maker came next, and after him the Physician or Surgeon, who was to cure the slight wounds of the courtiers, for no other fee than that part of their dress stained by their blood; though for deep wounds he had 180 pence in money. The Porter, who was obliged to know the face of every person that had a right to be admitted to the royal hall, had the fifteenth office, and he enjoyed the privilege, at each of the three great festivals, of drinking three horns of an esteemed beverage, called "the Twelve Apostles." All these officers were lodged, fed, and clothed in the palace; and the Prince protected their persons and provided for their families.

The Queens of the Anglo-Saxons were inaugurated into their dignity by anointing, presentation of a ring, and crowning; they sometimes sat in the Witenagemote, and their names are in some

charters joined with the King's, or subscribed to the instrument. They had also officers of their own households, who appear to have been called their nobles. The King's sons were provided for by lands appropriated to them, which reverted to the Crown on their death, or accession to the throne.

Next to the Thengs were the Ceorls, who were free, descended from yeomen, and were chiefly addicted to agriculture. They could, however, become noble, since it is mentioned in the laws as an incentive to virtue, that "through God's gift a servile Threl may become a Theng, and a Ceorl an Eorl; just as a singer may become a priest, and a booker a bishop." The laws admitted of five different methods of gaining nobility; being possessed of the property for a Theng already mentioned; by going thrice over the sea in his own craft, which would elevate a Theng into an Eorl, and a merchant into a Theng; by having learning enough to take priests' orders; by living with a King's Theng, as Hus-carles, or domestic dependents, receiving from their masters either a small landed estate, or as a military reward, a gilt-sword, helmet, and breast-plate. The laws, however, provided as a fifth qualification, that a ceorl before he were made a Theng, should have five hides of land, which were gradually increased to forty; since even with the helm, mail, and gold-handled sword, if he had no land he could not be advanced.

The remainder of the Anglo-Saxon society consisted of freemen, slaves, and freed-men. The first were frequently servants, or in laborious and subordinate situations; since Ælfred forgave them

twelve days at Christmas, Passion-week, Easter-week, &c; but they enjoyed the privilege of changing their service, though, not having a perpetual lord to answer for them, they were obliged to have continual securities for their appearance if accused. If they stole from the King, they were to make a ninefold recompense; and if from a freeman, threefold, his goods and the penalty reverting to the King. The sovereign was their legal lord and patron, and, whoever put a freeman into bonds, forfeited twenty shillings; but for breaking the Sabbath, he incurred becoming a wite-theow or penal slave. The lowest and most numerous class, was that of the slaves mentioned under the Saxon names of Theow-thral men, and Esne. They were bought and sold with land, and conveyed with the cattle, &c. in grants of it; as "100 sheep, 55 swine, 2 men, and 5 yoked oxen." They were disposed of in wills, as in the instance of an archbishop who bequeathed some land to an abbey, "with ten oxen and two men." They were frequently in perpetual slavery, with their families and offspring; they were sold both in England and abroad; and one of the latter Saxon laws provides, that "no Christians, or innocent man, shall be sold from the land;" they might be put into bonds, scourged or branded; and in one of the laws it is written, "let every man know his teams of *men*, horses, and oxen." They appear, notwithstanding, to have occasionally collected some property; since an Esne might be fined eighty shillings for working against his Lord's command, between sun-set and noon-set on Sunday evening: whilst for making offerings to idols, or eating flesh willingly on a fast-day, a theow was

paid six shillings, or suffered in his hide. But though these unhappy persons were protected neither by religion nor humanity on the first arrival of the Saxons in England, yet as the Christian faith was extended, they were not only relieved in their station of slavery, but the custom was gradually established of setting them at liberty. A landholder in the reign of Edgar, who had thirty men on his hands, directed that thirteen of them should be liberated by lot, and placed on the high way to go whither they would. The manumission of slaves, was one of the alms-deeds, by which wealthy penitents were allowed by the Saxon law to buy their penance; and the exercise of it in wills was both frequent and general. Sometimes, too, these unhappy persons were set free by the charity of others than their owners, as in the following instrument: "Here it is stated in this writing, that Aluric, the Canon of Exeter, redeemed Reinold and his children, and all their offspring, of Herberdi, for two shillings; and Aluric called them free and ace-less, in town and from town, for God's love." Sometimes their liberation arose from pious motives; and sometimes they bought their own liberty, as Godwin the Pale bought the freedom of himself, his wife and children, for fifteen shillings. Even after being freed, however, they seem to have obtained no rank in the state, the most part applying themselves to mechanical occupations; for, though the law admitted of the freedom of a theow enfranchised at the altar, yet his former owner was to possess his property or his personal value. But slavery in England received its most effectual check from Ælfred, who procured it to be enacted in the Witenagemote, that

whoever in future bought a Christian slave, should retain him as such for six years, only letting him go free in the seventh, without payment, and with the wife and clothes which he had at first; though if his Lord had given him his wife, she and her children were to remain, and the person himself had also the choice of continuing. The origin of this law was doubtless the Mosical institution contained in Deuteronomy xv. 12-19.

The highest court known to the Anglo-Saxons was their famous Witenagemote, or general council; which appears to have originated in the national assemblies of the Germans; as described by Tacitus. Its name signifies the meeting of wise men; but the members were also called the English Council-Givers, the Illustrious Assembly of the Wealthy, and the Great Synod. The court was composed of Bishops, Abbots, Ealdormen, Eorles, and some inferior Thengs; concerning whom, however, it is not accurately known whether they attended from right of rank or election. It also seems as if a part of the Anglo-Saxon people had some voice in the Witenagemote; at least on the more important affairs; but they are supposed to have been equal in rank to the present freeholders of England, as the more numerous orders of inferior husbandmen and servile persons, amounting to perhaps three-fourths of the whole population, were without any political rights whatever. The meetings of this assembly were convened by the King, and generally took place at the great church festivals, though there are instances of its session at other seasons; and Ælfred ordained during peace, the Eorls should meet at London, to consult on the government, twice in the year on

officer perpetually. There does not appear to have been any particular place appointed for the assembling of this council ; but it possibly depended on the royal residence at the time : for so late as 1215, it was one of the provisions of King John's great charter, that the general council should meet at a certain time and place. The assembling of the members appears occasionally to have been conducted with some kind of ceremony and festivity, with the royal bounty towards the members, as may be seen in a very interesting account of the meeting of a Witenagemote under Edgar, translated by Mr Turner from the *Annals of Ramsey*. " All England," says the passage, " rejoicing in the placid leisure of tranquil peace, it happened that, on a certain paschal solemnity, all the majores of all the country, as well clergy as laymen, of both orders and professions, met at the Royal Court called by him to celebrate the festivity, and to be honoured by him with royal gifts. Having celebrated the divine mysteries with all alacrity and joy, all went to the palace to refresh their bodies. The street murmured with the busy hum of men. None felt entirely a refusal of the royal munificence ; for all were splendidly rewarded with presents of various sort and value, in vessels, vestments, or the best houses." The King was president of the Witenagemote, and probably always addressed it, since Sir Henry Spelman supposes that its proceedings were prepared and opened by him. These proceedings consisted of electing the sovereign, enacting of laws, which appears to have been one of its earliest occupations ; making treaties of peace ; directing the military opera-

tions of the kingdom; trying and sentencing great persons accused of treason; examining into disputes; conveyances, &c. of landed property, and ecclesiastical affairs; and probably in some degree ordering the public dues of the nation, though taxation did not commence until the time of Æthelred, when the levy called Danegelt, or money to bribe the Danes, amounting to 10,000*l.*, was first imposed. It continued long after those piratical adventurers had left the English coasts; and consisted of an assessment of twelve pence on every hide of land. All the lands of England, by immemorial custom, however, were liable to certain payments, for the erection and support of castles and bridges, and furnishing men, &c. for military expeditions, unless they enjoyed an especial exemption. In Mr Turner's volumes will be found interesting instances of all the proceedings of the Witenagemote.

After the restoration of Ælfred in 878, a new division and jurisdiction of England took place; arising from his desire to bring justice home to every one's door, by constituting as many courts of judicature, as there were manors and townships in the kingdom, where injuries were redressed in an easy and expeditious manner, by the suffrage of neighbours and friends. He found that the Danes who were scattered through the country, were not only plunderers in themselves, but that their depredations had destroyed the ancient police of the kingdom, and corrupted the conduct of the inhabitants, until they also were accustomed to prey upon and to despoil each other. The division of England into counties or shires, governed by Baldormen and Scire-reeves, may certainly be traced

to a period anterior to *Ælfred*; and even the provincial hundreds are so very unequal in size, that it is difficult to suppose them all formed at one time or upon one principle. His precise modification of these ancient divisions has not been related; but *Ingulphus* states that he began the system of parting the country into hundreds and tythings, in one of which every inhabitant was obliged to enroll himself, under penalty of being treated as an outlaw. The hundreds consisted of ten towns, and the tythings of ten families of freeholders; the heads of which became reciprocally responsible for each other; so that of every ten householders throughout the kingdom, each individual had nine sureties or free pledges for his good conduct. On this account no person was allowed to remain in England more than forty days, unless he were enrolled in some tything; and therefore the sheriffs were to take the oaths of young persons as they reached the age of fourteen, and to see that they were entered in one or other of these societies, which was called the view of free, or frank-pledge. By this arrangement the apprehension of a criminal, and the calling out the force of the country, was alike speedily effected. For if the former were not produced by his own district within thirty-one days, the inhabitants thereof incurred a general fine, which interested them in his discovery; and if he fled to any other province, he would be known as a stranger, and resigned to the laws. These provisions at length made the country so secure, that golden bracelets are said to have been safely exposed by the side of the public roads.

.. Next to the *Witenagemote*, appears to have been

the Scire-gemot, or meeting of the shire, in which presided the Bishop of the Diocese and the Ealdorman; attended by the Scire-gerefa, the county Thegns, and the persons who brought the King's message or writ. Canute ordained that there should be two of these meetings, and three for burghs, every year; and all persons, excepting "common thieves," were to be protected in attending them. They appear to have been convened from an uncertain number of the county hundreds, being sometimes from eight, three, two, or one; and the causes within their jurisdiction were chiefly disputes concerning land, and sometimes criminal cases. Until the time of Ælfred, there were no justices or judges, but he separated their offices from that of the sheriff; and they attended at the Scire-gemotes with certain *Law-men*, or lawmen, the origin of modern lawyers. For the use of these persons, too, Ælfred is said to have collected the customs of the several counties of the kingdom into one body, called the *Dom-boc*, or book of judgment, the statutes of which were ordered to be observed by his son, Edward the Elder, and which existed in the time of Edward IV., though it be now unfortunately lost. As at this time there was no notion of the eliciting truth by cross-questioning, a cause was frequently decided by the *Wager of Law*; which was perhaps the rude type of future Trials by Jury. This proceeding was extremely ancient, and consisted in providing eleven compurgators, to swear that they believed an accused person innocent of the crime attributed to him; after the charge against him had been formally made, and the witnesses produced. It was, however, allowed only for certain

crimes, and where the accused bore a fair and irreproachable character ; and the number of twelve oaths was required,—eleven and his own,—to acquit a person of the wound of a noble which drew blood, or disclosed the bone, or broke a limb ; the seizing of another by the hair, or the throwing of one into the water. Sometimes, however, thirty compurgators appeared on each side, and an acquittal from the plunder of the dead, required the oaths of forty-eight full-born Thegns ; their testimony being estimated according to the legal value set upon every person. Whilst the Ordeals, which will be presently described, were popular, the trials by jurors were but little used ; but as those absurd appeals to Heaven declined, legal tribunals were more resorted to, and juries became more frequent.

After the Scire-gemot, the Folc-gemot was a court for cheap men, or merchants, to declare the number of their followers to the Gerefa, in the event of their being accused. The Folc-gemot was ordered not to be held on a Sunday ; and if any one disturbed it by a drawn weapon, he had a penalty of 120 shillings to pay to the Ealderman.

The Hundred-court came next to the County-court in the Anglo-Saxon judicature, having been probably derived out of it for the convenience of the people, that they might have justice done to them at their own doors, without expense or delay.

The Hundredary presided over it ; and here were transacted sales of land, registering of wills, manumission of slaves, &c. It was held monthly, had the jurisdiction of ten tythings, and was a repository for deeds and charters. In some of the

northern counties, the hundred was called a *Wapentake*, because, when the governor of the district first entered on his office, he appeared in the field on horseback bearing a lance, which all the chief men of the hundred touched with a similar weapon, to evince their unanimity. As much of the judicial proceedings of these courts rested on oaths, the penalty for perjury was very great in the Anglo-Saxon legislature; a perjured person being ranked with witches, murderers, &c., declared unworthy of the ordeal, disabled from becoming a witness again, and when he died was denied Christian burial. "In the name of the Almighty God," ran the form of a Saxon witness's oath, "as I stand here true in witness, unbidden and unbought; so I overaw it with mine eyes, and overheard it with mine ears, as I have said it."

The most uncertain and superstitious form of trial practised by the Anglo-Saxons, was that called the Ordeal, of which there were several kinds, as the cross, fire, water, iron, and the Corned, or morsel of excretion. The first of these was probably the most anciently adopted and the soonest laid aside; since it was abolished by the emperor Louis the Devout, about 820, as too commonly exposing the sacred symbol. The form of it was intimately connected with the wager of law; for the accused person having brought eleven compurgators to swear to his innocence, chose one of two pieces of covered wood, on one of which the cross was delineated: when, if he selected that with the emblem, he was acquitted, and if otherwise, condemned. The fire-ordeal was also extremely ancient, since "to handle hot iron, and walk over fire," as a proof of innocence, is men-

tioned in the *Antigone* of Sophocles. It was ordained for free men, and consisted in taking up in the hand, unhurt, a piece of red-hot iron, weighing from one to three pounds; or else by walking unhurt and barefoot, over nine red-hot plough-shares, laid at unequal distances; in which manner Queen Emma, the mother of Edward the Confessor, cleared herself from suspicion of familiarity with Alwyn, Bishop of Winchester. The ordeal of cold water, was for ceorls, and was sometimes performed by throwing the accused person into a river or pond; when, if he floated therein without any action of swimming, it was received as an evidence of his guilt, but if he sunk, he was acquitted. The trial of hot water, was plunging the bare hand or arm up to the elbow in boiling water, and taking out therefrom a stone weighing from one to three pounds, carrying it the space of nine of the accused person's feet. The iron ordeal was similar to this last, as well as to that of fire; since the hot iron was to be carried the same distance, and in both cases the hand was immediately to be bound up and sealed, and, after remaining so for three days, if the flesh did not appear foul, the accused person was not considered guilty. The performance of these trials, was attended with considerable ceremony; and Athelstan ordered that those appealing to them should go three nights before to the priest who was to conduct it, and live only on bread and salt, water and herbs. He was to be present at all the masses during the interval, and on the morning of the day of trial was to make his offerings and receive the sacrament; swearing, that "in the Lord with full fœlcright, he was innocent both in word and deed, of that charge of

which he had been accused." The dread of magical artifices, which was so prevalent with the Anglo-Saxons, was probably the reason why most of their corporal trials were performed fasting, and by sun rise; but ordeals were prohibited both on fasts and festivals. The fire was lighted within the church, into which no person was to enter excepting the priest and accused person, until the space were measured out, and the water were boiling furiously, in a vessel of iron, copper, lead, or clay. When all was prepared, two men were to enter of each side, and to agree that the water was boiling furiously; after which an equal number of persons was called in from both parts, not exceeding twelve, all fasting, who were placed along the church with the ordeal between them. The priest then sprinkled them with holy water, of which they were also to taste, kiss the Gospels, and be signed with the cross. During these rites, the fire was not to be mended any more; and if the ordeal were by iron, it remained on the coals until the last collect was finished, when it was removed to the staples which were to sustain it. The extent of the trial appears to have been decided by the accusation since the ordeal was sometimes called anfeald, or single, when the stone or iron was probably only three pounds in weight, and when the defendant dipped only his hand and wrist in the water; but in other cases the ordeal was entitled threefold, when the whole arm was plunged into the cauldron, and the iron was to be of three pounds weight. Whilst the accused was taking out the stone or bearing the iron, nothing was to be uttered but a prayer to the Deity to discover the truth; after which, it was to be left for three

days undecided. The ordeal might be compounded for, and it has been supposed that there were many means even for performing it unhurt; as collusion with the priest, the length of ceremony and distance of the few spectators, and preparations for hardening the skin, aided by the short distance which the suspected person had to bear the iron.

In all these cases, if the accused party escaped unhurt, he was of course adjudged innocent; but if it happened otherwise, he was condemned as guilty. A thief found criminal by the Ordeal, was to be put to death, unless his relations would pay his legal valuation, the amount of the goods, and give security for his good behaviour. As these trials were originally invented to preserve innocence from false accusation, under the notion that Heaven would always, miraculously, interpose to protect the guiltless, they were called "the Judgment of God;" and the word Ordeal itself, is derived from a Celtic origin, signifying judgment. It was also entitled the "common purgation," to distinguish it from the canonical one, which was by oath; but both in England and in Sweden, the clergy presided at the trial, and it was also performed upon sacred ground. The canon law at a very early period, however, declared the Ordeal to be against that divine command, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God;" but in King John's time, there were grants to the bishops and clergy to use the judgment by fire, water, and iron; and it was not until about 1218, that it was abolished under Henry III.

The last kind of Saxon Ordeal, was called the *Corried*, or morsel of execration, which consisted

of a piece of bread, weighing about an ounce, being given to the accused person after a form of consecration, which entreated of the Almighty; that if he were guilty it might cause convulsions and paleness, and find no passage; but turn to health and nourishment if he were innocent. It is supposed that this ceremony was invented in the early ages of Christianity, from a presumptuous use of the consecrated elements of communion; and, that the Saxon Corned, was actually the sacramental bread which the accused person was then to receive, until the later doctrine of transubstantiation preserved it from all secular uses. It has been asserted, that this Ordeal was specially limited to the clergy; but the sudden and fatal appeal to it by Godwin, Earl of Kent, in 1053, when accused of the murder of Ælfred, the brother of Edward the Confessor, is well known as one of the most remarkable traditions of English history. This custom, says Sir William Blackstone, has been long since gradually abolished; though the remembrance of it still exists in certain phrases of abjuration, retained by the common people; as "I will take the sacrament upon it;" "may this morsel be my last," &c. And it may be observed; also, that some allusion to the performance of Ordeals by deputy, for hire, or for friendship, is to be found in the expression of "going through fire and water to serve another."

Compensation to the injured party or his family, rather than the molestation of the criminal, being the principal feature of the Anglo-Saxon laws, capital punishments were not in very general use. But as these fines sometimes afforded security to the wealthy who could pay them, and to the poor

who could not, other penalties were invented, though characterised by all the barbarity of their Gothic original; as scourging, branding, the pillory, cutting off the limbs, mutilation of the face and head, and stoning; to which were added the ordinary punishments of hanging, imprisonment, outlawry, slavery, and even the comparatively modern one of transportation. Every class of persons, however, and almost every crime, had its pecuniary value; that belonging to each individual being called his Were, which varied according to his situation in life, and signified both the sum his murderer should pay if he were killed, and the penalty resting on himself for the commission of certain crimes. Hence it became the sign of a person's estimation in society, and is probably still alluded to in the common saying which speaks of the intrinsic worth of any individual. The ancient Weregild of a ceorl was 266 thrysmas, or 200 shillings, and that of the sovereign 30,000 thrysmas, or 120%; a noble's valuation was 15,000 thrysmas, a bishop's and ealdorman's 8000, a holde's and hah-gerefa's 4000, and a thegn's 2000; or 1200 shillings. Upon this legal estimate depended his own protection, which for some crimes might be forfeited, and even the worth of his credibility as a witness; as the oath of a man possessing twelve hides of land, was equal to the oath of six ceorls. The Weregild, or defence-money, is sometimes supposed either to have originated in an Oriental custom, of compounding with the relations of a murdered person, not to revenge his death; or else in the idea that the punishment of crime should be attended with some recompense to the injured party, the State, or the immediate

lord. The fine for injury to a subject was paid entirely to his family ; but that for the King was divided, one half going to his relations, and the other to the State. Another public fine, however, was also attached to murder called the Wite, which being a satisfaction for the general injury, was paid to the magistrate presiding over the criminal's class in society, and also varied according to the rank of his lord ; as a homicide committed in an Earl's town was twelve shillings, and in a royal province amounted to fifty. In defence of this singular method of expiating crimes, it can only be observed, that it was the first step towards placing the punishment of individual wrongs in the power of the public ; since the arrangement for satisfaction which was originally made between the parties in private, was afterwards transferred to the law, whilst the State at length had a share in the fine, and the government precluded all other revenge, by taking the discharged criminal under its protection. To sum up the Anglo-Saxon laws on homicide, it appears by those established early in the seventh century, that the above forfeitures were its only punishment, excepting it were committed by a servile person, when he was made to lose all he was worth. There was also a general penalty of 100 shillings to be paid for murder, which, with the foregoing, were all to be paid by the criminal within a certain time ; but if he fled, his relations became responsible. A part of the forfeiture of slaves, was subsequently transferred to their owners ; as, if one killed a person of an Earl's rank, his proprietor delivered him up, with payment of the price of three men, and in proportion for inferior dignities. A thief taken fly-

bag or stealing, might be killed without payment of his Were; provided the fact were made known; and persons in the woods not sounding a horn or crying out, might be considered as thieves. Murder committed in company, subjected all the parties to clear themselves from the act, and payment of a fourth of the Were; but any who furnished quarrelling persons with weapons, were fined to a larger amount. To repress the spirit of revenge which the relations of a deceased person were wont to entertain against the murderer's kindred, under the name of the Fætha, or deadly feud, about 942 Edmund protected them, by forfeiting the property of those who revenged a homicide on any other than the murderer; though he ordained that the legal penalties should be paid within twelve months; or that the guilty person should be abandoned by his relations. Ina, however, who reigned in 688, imposed a penalty of 30 shillings upon any who took his revenge before he had demanded legal redress which could never be denied; and similar laws were also enacted by Ælfred.

But it was not only the life which was thus protected, for almost every member of the body had its legal valuation, which was to be paid by such as injured it; of which a few specimens will be a sufficient illustration. The loss of an eye or leg, appears to have been considered as the greatest mischief, the fine imposed for it being 50 shillings; though only 30 were demanded for producing lameness. The loss of an ear was 30 shillings, a wound causing deafness 25 shillings, and tearing off the hair and fracturing the skull 20 shillings. Cutting off the thumb was also 20 shillings, the forefinger

was eight, the ring-finger six, the middle finger four, and the little finger was eleven: destroying the great toe was rated at 10 shillings, and breaking an arm, the jaw-bone, or any of the front teeth, was six shillings for each; whilst fracturing a rib was three shillings, a wound an inch long on the face was two shillings, and the same under the hair was estimated at one shilling. Some alterations in these laws were made by Ælfred, who also appointed penalties for protecting the personal safety of an innocent eorl.

The penalties for theft appear to have been the most numerous and severe of the Anglo-Saxon code. They originally consisted in a threefold recompense for a freeman, twofold for a servile person, and forfeiture of his goods and wife to the King. The Sovereign had next the power of taking his Were, or of putting him to death, and it is provided, that if the wife and family of a thief witnessed his crime, they should all go into slavery. Cutting off his hand and foot was ordained soon after, but Edmund, who reigned in 941, is believed to have been the first Saxon Prince who punished robbery by hanging. It may be remarked, however, that his immediate predecessor, Æthelstan, commanded that no one should lose his life for less than twelvepence, or under 15 years of age, unless he fled or defended himself. This was also the spirit of the laws of Canute, which order, "that for a small cause a Christian man shall not be adjudged to death, nor the work of the Divine hands destroyed, which was redeemed by so dear a price. From the Welsh borders to the English, however, spoliation, even in peace, seems to have been almost considered as laudable: the prince and his

family had a share in the prey appointed by statute; and "the Royal Bard," says the Welsh law, "shall attend the King's domestics when they go out to plunder the English, and he shall sing and play before them for their encouragement. If they meet with resistance and a battle ensue, he shall sing the song entitled, 'the Monarchy of Britain.'"

With regard to females, the ancient British laws had a singular provision, that "whosoever should strike the Queen, or snatch any thing forcibly from her hand, should forfeit the Royal protection." But the Anglo-Saxon ordinances, received women into much greater respect and protection, since one of the earliest, places the children under their mother on the father's death; whilst others were framed to prevent forced marriages, and keeping of concubines. The parity of maidens, &c. was also preserved by very severe statutes; as the ravisher of a nun was fined as an assassin, and the violator of a child was subject to mutilation. Adultery was also punished by a variety of fines, which may be seen in Mr Turner's copious illustrations of the Saxon Laws.

It now remains only to notice the general protection and security of society, given and required by these ordinances; and in briefly stating the subject, it should be noticed, that beside an individual's valuation, he had a protecting privilege called a Mund, which guarded his domestic residence from violation. This varied in amount according to his rank; as the King's mund was rated at fifty shillings, and that of a ceorl at six; and if any one drew a weapon where men were drinking, and the floor were stained with blood,

fifty shillings were paid to the King, and a recompense was made to the master of the house for violating his mannd byrd.

That peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon judicature of causing all persons to enter into a mutual and uniform bail, has already been described ; though it may be remarked in alluding to it, that the age and purpose for assuming it seem to be pointed out in one of the laws of Canute, which provides, that " every one of twelve winters old should swear that he will not be a thief, nor the adviser of one." But beside these ordinary borb, or sureties, accused persons were bound over by pledges to answer complaints against them, and do as the judges should decide, or to forfeit twelve shillings. In a case of paying the Wese for a homicide, these were required twelve co-spiritors ; and if a thief could not give bail, his goods were seized, or, in default of property, he was imprisoned till judgment. Every master became the pledge for his family, and answered for it if accused ; but a friendless man, or stranger, being charged with a crime, was to be put into the pillory till he went to the ordeal. The man who was accused and had no borb, might be killed and buried with the infamous ; but the characters of individuals were protected by the law, and Edgar, who reigned in 960, ordained that malicious calumny should be punished by the loss of the defamer's tongue, unless redeemed by the full value of his life. Both travellers and strangers, however, were watched and suspected by the government ; no one was to receive another into his house for more than nine days, who had not previously served him as a

follower ; and even all sales were to be conducted before witnesses. Æthelstan, who began his reign in 929, ordered that nothing above 20 pennies price, should be sold outside the gate of a town ; but that they should be within, under the witness of a Gerefa : and Canute, who ascended the throne in 1014, ordered that " nothing should be bought above four pennies worth, living or dead, without the witness of four true men."

Such were the leading features of the ancient Anglo-Saxon laws, which were subject to all the continual improvement that could be devised by the Witenagemote. Their great principle was certainly a free judicature, by which every man was made to perform towards others, the right which he desired for himself. They had, says the author to whom the present section is so much indebted, " a high regard for the personal liberty of the subject whilst unoffending against the laws ; and repeated provisions were made to punish those who imprisoned or bound him without legal justice." Such was also the sentiment of Ælfred himself, when he declared in his will that " the English had an undoubted right ever to remain free as their own thoughts."

3. *Judicature of England down to the Norman Invasion.*—It cannot be doubted that the successes of the Danes in England were productive of some alterations in the Anglo-Saxon laws and government. But there was, at the same time, so much resemblance between the two nations, that several of each were similar, if not perfectly the same ; and many of the edicts of Canute, the second Danish monarch, were established to support

those of the Saxon sovereigns; and, as such, have been cited in the preceding review of them.

When the Danes, however, were first suppressed by Ælfred, that part of England in which they settled was governed by a law called *Dane-Lage*; whilst the sovereign compiled another code entitled *West-Saxon Lage*; and the local constitutions of the kingdom of Mercia were observed in the counties nearest to Wales, and were entitled the *Mercen-Lage*. These three systems, then, were in use in different counties of the nation in the reign of Edgar, surnamed the *Peaceable*, one of whose principal merits was commencing that design which his grandson Edward the Confessor afterwards completed, the compiling of one uniform body of laws throughout the whole kingdom.* It is probable that this work, which he publicly declared about 966, was little more than a revival and improvement of King Ælfred's *West-Saxon Lage*; incorporating therewith some of the Mercian customs, and such of the Danish as were reasonable and approved. "It is my will," said

* This sovereign is also said to have ridden through his provinces every spring and winter, to examine the conduct of the powerful, to protect the weak, and to punish every violation of law. His vigilant conduct freed the kingdom from robbers; he founded the British Navy, reformed the coin, and issued regulations to prevent excess of drinking introduced by the Danes, and the quarrels which naturally followed. The credit of having extirpated wolves from England, is also attributed to him, but they are shown to have been common in many counties by an injunction of Edward I.; and even James I. directs his "schireffs" and barons to hunt the wolf "four or thrie times in the zeare, betwixt St Marke's day," April 25th, and, Lambes," August 1st, "quhich is the time of their quhelpes."

Edgar in a speech explaining his design to the Witenagemote at York, " that the Danes select for themselves such laws as are best adapted to their particular circumstances; and that the English observe the statutes which I and my councilors have added to the ancient dooms." The statutes thus established were confirmed at Oxford by Canute, when he persuaded the English and Danes to enter into an agreement of mutual friendship and reconciliation; but in 1015 a new collection of Laws or Constitutions was drawn up in a national assembly at Winchester, which commanded the faithful administration of justice blended with mercy; forbade the selling of Christian-slaves abroad; denounced Paganism in witchcraft; confirmed the three kinds of English Law; and relieved some of the feudal services, which were then on the increase throughout Europe. The fortunate position in which Edward the Confessor was placed, between the Danish and Norman invasions, has made his character to be regarded with great partiality, especially as it relates to the revival of the Anglo-Saxon laws. The imperfect design of Edgar, though confirmed by Canute, was not completed nor established till the reign of this sovereign; from which circumstance the character of an eminent legislator has been conferred upon Edward by all posterity. The genuine book of his laws, however, does not exist, though a spurious series has been printed with his name. The most ancient now extant are those of King Æthelbert, who reigned from 561 to 636, which are also said to be the oldest in modern Europe; and with many other Saxon

statutes, &c. of a more recent date, will be found in the very valuable collection of Dr Wilkins already cited.

Thus, then, stood the general frame of English polity, at the time of the Norman Invasion.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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